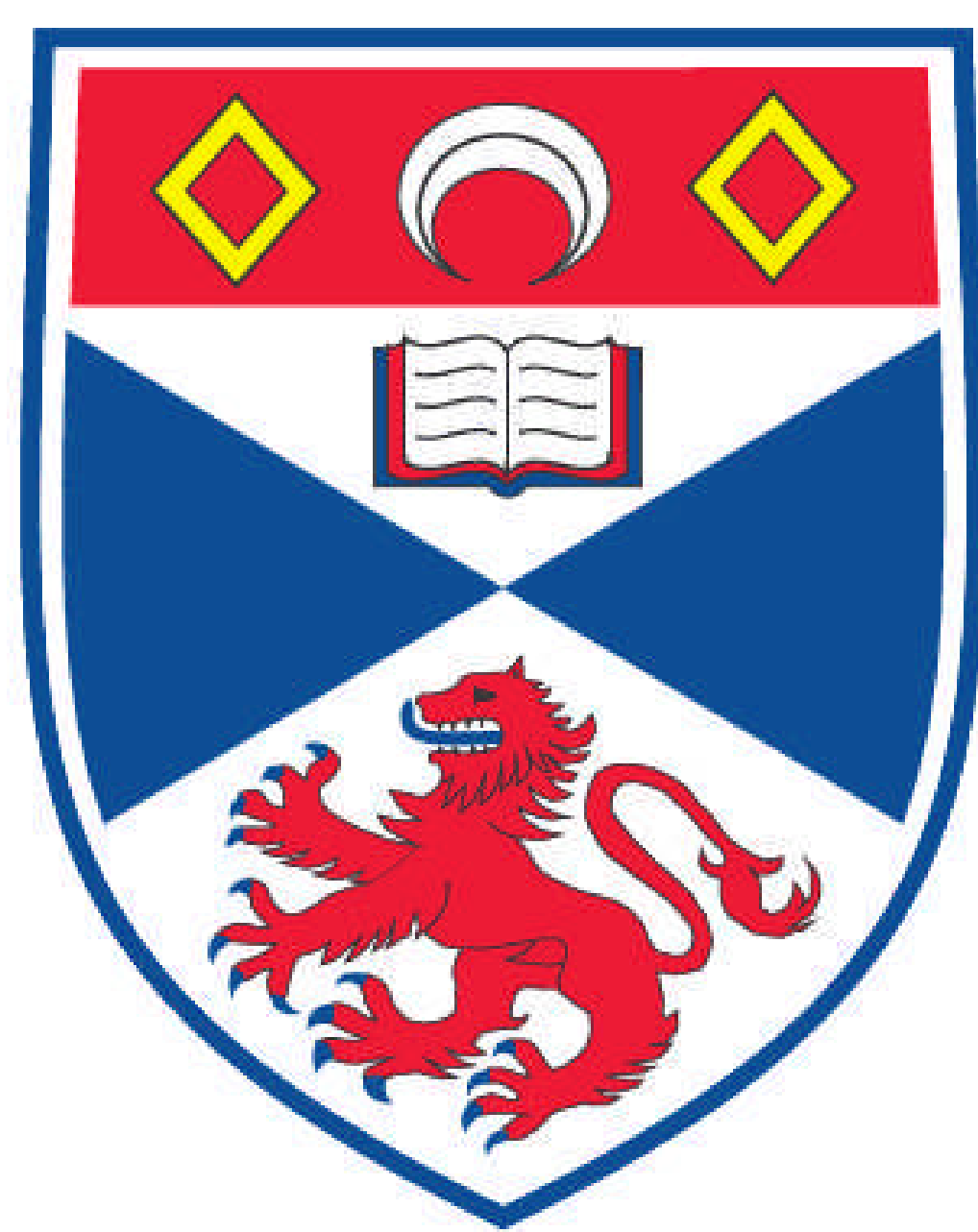


**THE THEORY OF EUCHARISTIC PRESENCE IN THE EARLY
CAROLINE DIVINES, EXAMINED IN ITS EUROPEAN
THEOLOGICAL SETTING**

Gary Lee Chrysostom Frank

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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THE THEOLOGY OF EUCHARISTIC PRESENCE IN THE EARLY CAROLINE
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ABSTRACT

The question of Christ's presence in the eucharist was an issue which caused great controversy in the Reformation period, and which continued to evoke dispute during the seventeenth century. Various interpretations of the Caroline divines' teaching on the eucharistic presence have been offered, but often they seem either to indicate the theological position of the writer rather than that of the theologians considered, or to ignore the broader context of eucharistic doctrine. The purpose of this study, therefore, was 1. to investigate the theology of eucharistic presence in the thinking of several seventeenth-century Anglican divines, and 2. to examine their teaching in relation to the sixteenth-century Anglican heritage and the various continental sacramental doctrines, Reformed, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox.

To accomplish this goal, eight theologians were chosen for examination: Adrianus Saravia, Lancelot Andrewes, John Cosin, Richard Montague, William Forbes, William Laud, Jeremy Taylor and Herbert Thorndike. When available, nineteenth-century editions of their works were used; otherwise, seventeenth-century texts were employed. Similarly, modern editions of Roman, Orthodox, Lutheran and Reformed writings were utilized when possible. The examination of eucharistic teaching included seven major points: 1. the sacrament as mystery, 2. eucharistic change, 3. the relationship between Christ's body and the bread, 4. eucharistic communion, 5. the nature of Christ's body in the sacrament, 6. consecration, and 7. adoration in the eucharist.

This study has shown that there was great diversity in the thinking of the Caroline divines (although they did not treat the

subject of eucharistic presence with equal detail or depth); no unified understanding of sacramental presence was expressed. Reformed ideas inherited from the previous century remained strong, but new tendencies toward other understandings of the eucharist can be discerned. The period, therefore, can be seen to represent a new stage in the history of Anglican eucharistic doctrine.

DECLARATION

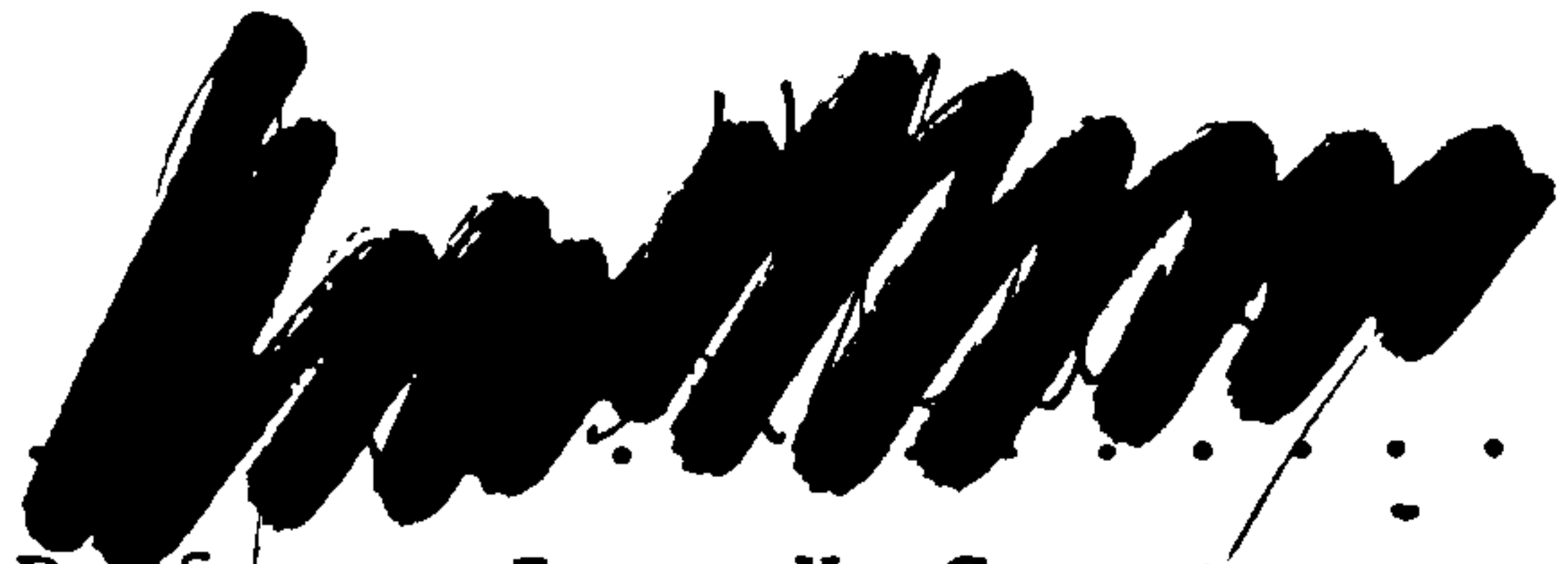
I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) in October, 1980 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended) in October, 1980.

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor James K. Cameron.


Gary Lee Chrysostom Frank

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Gary Lee Chrysostom Frank has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1 (as amended) and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

A large, bold, handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. K. Cameron', is written over a dotted line.

Professor James K. Cameron
St. Mary's College
University of St. Andrews

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due first to my parents, whose generosity and kindness have largely made this study possible. Secondly, I should like to thank my supervisor, the Reverend Professor James K. Cameron. I am also grateful for the friendly co-operation shown to me by the staff of the Library of the University of St. Andrews, and especially for the unfailing patience and expert help of Mr. Geoffrey D. Hargreaves, Assistant Librarian (Rare Books). Mention should also be made of Miss E. M. Rainey, Keeper of Rare Books at the University of Durham, Miss A. M. Williams, Assistant Librarian at St. John's College, Oxford, and Miss M. P. Judd, Assistant Librarian at Pembroke College, Cambridge, who have been most pleasantly helpful in enabling me to examine various seventeenth-century libraries. Thanks are also due to St. John's House (St. Andrews), Westfield House (Cambridge) and Mr. W. Jensen of London for providing study facilities and/or accommodation at various stages over the past several years. Finally, but by no means least, I should like to express my deep gratitude to my wife, Marica, whose assistance in proof-reading and the translation of Latin texts has been invaluable (any errors in the thesis are, however, entirely my own). Even more importantly, I am indebted to her for her constant and unfailing encouragement, without which this dissertation would never have been completed.

G. L. C. Frank

30 January, 1985

Being the commemoration of Our Holy and Godbearing Father Anthony the Great, the Holy New Martyr George of Joannina and the Venerable Mother Mildgytha.

TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

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INTRODUCTION

"That ancient religion had well nigh faded away out of the land, through the political changes of the last 150 years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation:- a better reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth."¹ These words of John Henry Cardinal Newman express what has become in some theological circles the key for understanding seventeenth-century Anglican theology - a movement away from Calvinist and Lutheran tendencies with a renewed emphasis on "Catholic tradition and doctrine".²

It has been pointed out by Alf Härdelin that the nineteenth-century Tractarians appealed not only to antiquity, but also to the "great Anglican High Church divines", known otherwise as "the seventeenth-century divines", "the Caroline divines", and "the standard divines", although they were neither all "Caroline" nor "seventeenth-century".³ These theologians have at times been seen as the origin of the recovery of patristic theology within the Anglican Communion. To "appeal immediately to the seventeenth century was to appeal immediately to the Fathers", F. L. Cross has argued, since these divines "claimed to have built up their systems from Patristic sources, believing that the Fathers were the best interpreters and expounders of the revelation made once for all in Holy Writ".⁴ The Tractarians, Cross maintains, by advocating a return to the theology of the seventeenth century, "were but reiterating in another form their demand for a return to the Primitive Church".⁵ Some understood the links between the nineteenth and seventeenth centuries to have been so close that they freely attached the designation "Anglo-Catholic" to the

earlier churchmen.⁶ It has been argued that these "High Church divines" intended "to restore the grandeur of Christian truth, and teach it anew to their countrymen, who had largely forgotten it in the turmoil of the Reformation".⁷ P. E. More has claimed that the theology of the Caroline divines represents a conscious effort to "steer a middle course between the excesses of Romanist and Radical Protestant".⁸ While these statements admit of variations in interpretation, and would not totally exclude the influence of Protestant thinking on seventeenth-century Anglican theology,⁹ they suggest minimal similarities and ties between the two.

What does this understanding of the "Caroline divines" imply concerning the theology of eucharistic presence in the seventeenth century? Did they move away from the earlier eucharistic controversies and the turmoil of continental Protestant theology to recover a purer and more primitive doctrine of the sacramental presence? Were they the representatives of "high" eucharistic theology, distinct from that of Calvinists and Lutherans? Were there any similarities between their teaching and that of the Eastern Orthodox Church? How did their ideas relate to those of the sixteenth-century Anglican sacramental tradition which they inherited?

The purpose of this study is to examine the theology of eucharistic presence in the "early Caroline divines" within the broader European theological context. It may be true that these Anglicans were committed to an understanding of doctrine interpreted in the light of the Fathers, but this does not eliminate points of contact with sixteenth and seventeenth-century Reformed, Lutheran, Roman and Eastern Orthodox expositions of eucharistic teaching, unless one assumes *a priori* that these expositions were not in accord with

patristic thought. It may also be true, as H. R. McAdoo has written, that there is no "specifically Anglican corpus of doctrine and no king-pin in Anglican theology such as Calvin", and that "Anglicanism is not committed to believing anything because it is Anglican but only because it is true".¹⁰ These statements, however, more acutely raise the question of how the Caroline divines understood the "truth" of eucharistic presence within the broader context of various and conflicting theologies, all of which were attempting to express the "truth" of eucharistic doctrine. If Anglicans were not committed to following the teaching of any one leading theologian, does this imply the absence of unity in sacramental teaching, or does it point to diversity in "minor" points surrounding a commonly held doctrine?

McAdoo's claims also suggest that the discovery of these churchmen's understanding of Christ's presence in the eucharist may contain more difficulties than if they had been committed to a highly structured and tightly organized theological system. Charles Gore well expressed this problem when he wrote:

It must be obvious to any one reading our divines of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries that it is often extremely difficult to ascertain their positive teaching - except, perhaps, in the case of Hooker; or to reconcile what they assert positively at one time with what they say by way of rejection of Roman doctrine at another;¹¹ or again, to reconcile them among themselves.

With these difficulties in mind, the investigation of their teaching must attempt to avoid two pitfalls: 1. categorizing these churchmen as "Catholic" or "Protestant" in the antithetical way in which these terms have come to be used in certain theological circles, particularly since the nineteenth century, and 2. assuming, or attempting to find, smooth and consistently developed eucharistic theology within the writings of

any one divine, or among the various theologians as a group.

In order to avoid as much as possible the application of either anachronistic or irrelevant labels, various terms will not be used. Designations such as "Anglo-Catholic", "Laudian", "Arminian", "Anti-Puritan" often suggest too much or have little to do with distinguishing the men under consideration from other contemporary churchmen in terms of sacramental doctrine.¹² Even the name, "High Churchmen", which in itself would be anachronistic,¹³ cannot but conjure up associations with the nineteenth-century Tractarian movement. Moreover, any definition one might wish to attach to this label would be highly arbitrary¹⁴ and very debatable with respect to whom should be included under its heading.¹⁵ Because of this difficulty in terminology, the more neutral designations, "Caroline divines" and "seventeenth-century churchmen" will be used, although, as has already been indicated, not all the theologians of the era were "Caroline" or entirely "seventeenth-century".

The methodology of this study will include the examination of eight Anglican divines whose writings span the period 1604 to 1672. Of these eight men, one was a Dutchman who emigrated to England, Andrianus Saravia (1532-1613), who set out his sacramental teaching in De Sacra Eucharistia.¹⁶ Another was a Scot, William Forbes (1585-1634), first Bishop of Edinburgh, whose eucharistic doctrine is found in Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore et Eucharistia.¹⁷ One of the six Englishmen included, Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), developed his doctrine of Christ's sacramental presence both in his sermons and in his polemical writings against Cardinals Bellarmine and du Perron.¹⁸ Similarly, William Laud (1573-1645), did

not produce an individual work on the sacrament; his eucharistic theology must be gathered from various writings, especially, A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Mr. Fisher and The History of the Troubles and Tryal.¹⁹ Richard Montague's (1577-1641) understanding is found primarily in two polemical treatises, Appello Caesarem, which was directed against his Puritan enemies, and A Gagg for the New Gospell? NO: A New Gagg for an Old Goose, aimed at a Roman Catholic opponent.²⁰ The eucharistic teaching of John Cosin (1594-1672) is scattered throughout his works, but is located especially in his notes on the Prayer Book, his 1647 tract on the real presence and his Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis.²¹ The main sources of Jeremy Taylor's (1613-1667) ideas are A Dissuasive from Popery, The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament and The Worthy Communicant, while other writings also contain pertinent material on eucharistic presence.²² The last theologian to be considered, Herbert Thorndike (1598-1672), expressed his views primarily in An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England, Of Religious Assemblies and Just Weights and Measures.²³

This study is concerned to demonstrate that, given the various sources to which these divines appealed - Scriptures, Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen - they developed their eucharistic teaching against the background of their sixteenth-century theological inheritance which laid the foundations for many of their problems and concerns. This is certainly not to deny that they appealed to the Fathers; nor is it to imply that they were insufficiently "Patristic" in their thinking; nor is it to disparage their use and interpretation of either antiquity or the middle ages. Rather, it is to investigate their understanding(s) of sacramental presence with reference to the explosion and fragmentation of eucharistic doctrine which occurred in the sixteenth-century

reformations and which reverberated into their own century.

FOOTNOTES

¹Apologia Pro Vita Sua, ed. & intro. by Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 50.

²Ibid., p. 516 (50.15). The editor of the Apologia uses this language.

³The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historico-Ecclesiastica Upsaliensia (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1965), p. 45, ft.nt. 57.

⁴The Oxford Movement and the Seventeenth Century. Oxford Movement Centenary Series (London: SPCK, 1933), p. 8.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 24. This is most clearly seen by the title of that nineteenth-century edition of their works, The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

⁷G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition. A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century (London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1941), p. 25.

⁸"The Spirit of Anglicanism" in Anglicanism. The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century, ed., Paul E. More & Frank Leslie Cross (London: SPCK, 1935), p. xxxii.

⁹See, for example, More's cautious concession concerning Calvin's influence. Ibid., p. xxxvi.

¹⁰The Spirit of Anglicanism. A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965), p. 1.

¹¹The Body of Christ. An Enquiry into the Institution & Doctrine of Holy Communion, 4th ed., reprinted (London: John Murray, 1907), p. 228.

¹²For a discussion of various terms and the problems connected with them, see, C. W. Dugmore, Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland (London: SPCK, 1942), pp. 68-70.

¹³The term came into vogue only during the time of Queen Anne and later. Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁴Despite Dugmore's use of the label "High Churchmen" in order to distinguish certain men from the "Moderate Churchmen", he gave no positive *definition* of what he meant by the term or why he used it. He was clearer about what labels he wanted to avoid than why he chose "High

Church" as an appropriate one. Ibid., pp. 68-70. This only demonstrates the difficulty in attaching a meaningful concept or content to the word, apart from one's own personal usage.

¹⁵Dugmore, for example, maintained that, in his earlier days, Cosin was a "High Churchman", but returned to England after the Restoration as a "Moderate Churchman" (Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 104-10), while P. G. Stanwood has said that there is little evidence for this claim (John Cosin, A Collection of Private Devotions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xxi). C. J. Stranks has claimed that Taylor's teaching was "far more Protestant" than that of men like Andrewes and Laud (The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor (London: SPCK, 1952), pp. 137-38). W. J. Grisbrooke has argued that, if Dugmore's distinction between "high" and "central" were to be applied at all, Laud's eucharistic doctrine should be labelled "central" and Taylor's as "high", the opposite of what Dugmore said (Anglican Liturgies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: SPCK, 1958), p. 36, esp. ft.nt. 1. See also, Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 50-51, 95-96).

¹⁶Adrianus (or Hadrianus) Saravia, born in Hesdin (in Artois), the Netherlands, fled to England in 1587 to save his life from a death sentence due to his supposed involvement in an attempt to bring Leiden under the authority of Leicester. He became rector of Tatenhill, Staffordshire (1588), was vicar of Lewisham in the diocese of Rochester (1595-1604), and was made rector of Great Chart, Kent, from 1609 until his death at Canterbury in 1613. He had obtained the positions of canon of Gloucester Cathedral in 1591, of Canterbury Cathedral in 1595 and of Westminster Abbey in 1601. W. Nijenhuis, "Adrianus Saravia as An Eirenic Churchman in England and the Netherlands", Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, 1500-1750, ed., D. Baker. The Eccl. History Soc. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 149-63. See also, Nijenhuis' Adrianus Saravia (c.1532-1613) Dutch Calvinist, First Reformed Defender of the English Episcopal Church Order on the Basis of Ius Divinum, vol. 21 of Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), pp. 3-160.

¹⁷Forbes was born in Aberdeen, educated at Marischal College in the same city, graduating in 1601. Soon after, he acquired the chair of logic at his *Alma Mater*, but resigned in 1606 to travel throughout the continent. Returning to Scotland, he became pastor of two rural Aberdeenshire parishes, Alford and Monymusk, and was selected at the Perth Assembly in 1618 to defend the lawfulness of kneeling at holy communion. He impressed Charles I at Holyrood by his preaching in 1633, and was consecrated to the newly founded see of Edinburgh in February of 1634, only to die shortly thereafter in April of the same year. See, More and Cross, Anglicanism, p. 795 and DNB, 19:411-12.

¹⁸Born at Barkin, Andrewes attended Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, to which he was later appointed catechist in 1580. Obtaining the living of St. Giles, Cripplegate, he eventually became prebendary of St. Paul's and Master of Pembroke (1589), prebendary of Westminster (1597), dean of Westminster (1601), Bishop of Chichester (1605), Bishop of Ely (1609), and Bishop of Winchester (1619). Anglicanism, p. 787. See also Andrewes' biography by Paul A. Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes (London: SPCK, 1958).

¹⁹Laud was born in Reading. Among the various ecclesiastical posts which he held during his lifetime are included: vicar of Stanford (1607), prebend of Buckden and archdeacon of Huntingdon (1615), dean of Gloucester (1616), prebendary of Westminster (1621), dean of the Chapel Royal (1626), privy councillor (1627), Bishop of St. David's (1621), Bishop of London (1628) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1633) until his execution in 1645). Anglicanism, p. 801. For a biography of Laud, see, H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud 1573-1645, 2nd. ed. (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1962).

²⁰Montague was born at Dorney, Bucks., educated at Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, received the living of Wooton Courtenay, Somerset (1610) and became rector of Stanford Rovers, Essex in 1613. Among the posts which he held were, dean of Hereford (1616), canon of Windsor (1617), archdeacon of Hereford (1617), chaplain to both James I and Charles I, Bishop of Chichester (1628) and Bishop of Norwich (1638). Anglicanism, p. 802; DNB, 38:266-70.

²¹Born at Norwich, he attended Caius College, Cambridge, and became secretary and librarian to Bishop Overall of Coventry and Lichfield until 1619 when he became chaplain to Bishop Neile of Durham. He was made master of Greatham Hospital and prebendary of Durham (1624), archdeacon of East Riding in Yorkshire (1625), rector of Brancepeth (1626), master of Peterhouse, Cambridge (1634) and its vice-chancellor in 1639. The following year, he obtained the post of dean of Peterborough and chaplain to Charles I, being sequestered from all his livings in 1641 and ejected from Peterhouse in 1644. Retiring to Paris in 1645, he spent the period of the *Interregnum* serving as chaplain to Anglican royalists in France. After the Restoration, he was reinstated to the deanery of Peterborough (1660), was consecrated Bishop of Durham in the same year, and became one of the leading revisers at the Savoy Conference (1661-62). Anglicanism, p. 792. See also the introduction in The Durham Book. Being the First Draft of the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661 (reprint), ed. & intro., G. J. Cuming (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Pub., 1979), pp. xi-xxvi. See also P. G. Stanwood's introduction in A Collection of Private Devotions, pp. xiii-xxxix.

²²Baptized at Cambridge, he attended Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Taylor became rector of Uppingham in 1638, and was a zealous supporter of the royalist cause during the Civil War. Losing his preferments, he obtained the position of private chaplain to the Earl of Carbery at Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, but was imprisoned on three occasions during the Commonwealth. In 1661 he was made Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, where he had a difficult episcopate until his death in 1667. Anglicanism, p. 808. See also, W. J. Brown's Jeremy Taylor (London: SPCK, 1925) and C. J. Strank's The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor.

²³Son of a Lincolnshire gentleman, Thorndike was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He became prebendary of Layton Ecclesia in Lincoln Cathedral in 1636, Hebrew lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1640, and was nearly elected master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (1643), but was stopped through the intervention of Cromwell. Retiring to the living of Barley in 1644, he eventually lost this position as well, until his reinstatement at the Restoration, at which time he also became prebendary of Westminster (1661).

Anglicanism, pp. 808-9; DNB, 56:290-92.

CHAPTER ONE: THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

Because theological thinking and formulation do not occur in a vacuum but arise out of an historical setting, an important element in the understanding of seventeenth-century Anglican eucharistic doctrine is the development of sacramental teaching during the previous century. Caroline churchmen were heirs to a theological heritage having evolved through the decades of the sixteenth century and having produced a certain orientation in eucharistic doctrine.

On the continent, the question of Christ's presence in the sacrament had become a focal point of disunity, not only between Reformers and Romanists, but among Protestants themselves. This eucharistic controversy, symbolized by the famous 1529 Marburg Colloquy, openly revealed the gulf between Lutheran and Swiss understandings of Christ's eucharistic presence, a gulf which was not bridged despite various attempts during that century to do so. Nor was this controversy only a continental phenomenon. From the publication of Henry VIII's Assertio Septem Sacramentum in 1521 to the publication of the fifth book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Piety in 1597, the English Church was also plagued with a continuing controversy concerning the eucharistic presence.¹

At this stage, it is the eucharistic issue as dealt with by theologians within the Church of England of the sixteenth century which is our primary concern, since these men were the ecclesiastical forefathers of the Caroline churchmen. Nonetheless, the eucharistic teaching of continental theologians, such as Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and Bucer, must also be considered, particularly as their ideas relate to the English situation. Our intention is not to provide an exhaustive treatment of the period, but rather to survey the development of

English sacramental thinking during the sixteenth century, and thus to provide an historical background which will enable an adequate assessment of Caroline eucharistic teaching to be made.

(i) The Henrician Era

*Quas colubris istius astucias quo facilius, lector,
possis deprehendere, observa diligenter singula
vestigia ejus (Luther), et suspende gressus tuos,
neque nimium securus inter repres ac tribulos,
latebras et speluncas ejus obambula, ne, ex occulto
insidiatus calceneo tuo existiale virus instillet.
Deprehensus enim² torpebit ignavus, et suo ipse
veneno tabescet.*

With these words, Henry VIII expressed the initial negative reaction of English officialdom to the evangelical movement on the continent. His Assertio Septem Sacramentorum of 1521 was intended to show the world that England was, and would remain, within the fold of Catholic orthodoxy and would not tolerate dangerous novelties, particularly concerning the sacraments of the Church. Henry's work³ was the second anti-Protestant *libellus* to be printed in England, published about two months after the printing of Bishop John Fisher's sermon against Luther.⁴ In this treatise, Henry set out to defend the doctrine of transubstantiation, along with other traditional beliefs. He rejected as something contrary to the faith of the entire Christian world Luther's contention that the substance of bread and wine remain after the consecration, and he accused the reformer of paving the way for the future denial of the presence of Christ's body and blood whenever the inclination to change his opinion should come.⁵

The significance of Henry VIII's treatise for this study lies in the attitude which it expressed. As long as the Crown defended the old faith, especially on the sacramental question, the English Church was not able to enter into a complete, theologically consistent

reformation, even after the break with Roman jurisdiction. Tendencies toward various continental theologies were certainly to increase during Henry's lifetime, and the King himself would find that some sort of relationship with the German Lutheran princes might prove politically beneficial,⁶ but his conservative theological nature provided a restraining influence with regard to official changes in doctrine.⁷

Despite this opposition, evangelical ideas from the continent entered English circles quite early. Lutheran books began coming into the country between 1518 and 1520,⁸ and by 1529 they were arriving in considerable quantities despite all attempts to suppress their importation.⁹ Luther's Latin writings were known to English scholars during this period.¹⁰ His De Captivitate Babylonica, for example, had reached English shores early in 1521,¹¹ and by 1525 there probably circulated manuscript copies of Johann Bugenhagen's famous appeal to English Christians, urging them to join the evangelical movement. This Lutheran appeal coincided with the heightening of Protestant activities, such as the preaching of a paraphrase of Luther's postil for the day on the fourth Sunday of Advent, 1525, by Robert Barnes.¹² During the 1520s the White Horse Tavern in Cambridge, nicknamed "Little Germany", had become a centre of early English Protestant activity.¹³

If Lutheran ideas had been the extent of continental influence, one might be tempted to conclude that the reforming party in England naturally followed Luther's lead in sacramental teaching during this era. There was, however, influence from places other than Wittenberg. Basil Hall has argued for what he sees as the "corrosive influence of South German and Swiss theology" already at work on Lutheranism in England during the 1520s and 30s.¹⁴ It is significant, he claimed, that England's "first Lutheran", William Tyndale, failed to adopt Luther's

eucharistic doctrine. While most English Protestants accepted Luther's teaching on justification, his understanding of the Lord's Supper "made almost all of them uneasy and even hostile".¹⁵ That the voices of men such as Uldrich Zwingli and Johann Oecolampadius were also being heard in England has been forcibly put forward by G. W. Locher. He points out that in lists of prohibited literature issued in 1526 and 1531 the importing and reading of numerous books by Zwingli and Oecolampadius, whose titles had been carefully compiled, were forbidden. Moreover, treatises directed against these two men were published by Bishop John Fisher of London and Richard Smith, an Oxford professor, in the 1520s and 40s.¹⁶ As Locher has quite legitimately claimed, "when books are banned or a heresy is refuted, it is evidence that these are being disseminated".¹⁷ Significantly, in 1543 an English translation of Zwingli's 1530 confession at the Diet of Augsburg, Fideo Ratio, was published in Zurich, with further impressions being made in 1543 and 1548, possibly in England.¹⁸

What is important for our purposes about the variety of theological literature coming into the country is that it brought with it the divisions in eucharistic teaching found on the continent.¹⁹ That English Protestants were willing to draw support from opposing sides in the controversy was grist to the mill for defenders of the old faith. Bishop Stephen Gardiner of Winchester, for example, exploited this disunity when in 1547, shortly after Henry VIII's death, he ridiculed the Protestant John Bale for two books he had written. One of these "praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly approved the presence really of Christ's natural body in the Sacrament of the Altar". while the other book "would have Anne Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be

taken for a saint also".²⁰

Before we look to see how these differences in eucharistic doctrine found expression in the formulations of individual English divines and in official statements by Church leaders, we must first briefly look at the continent to see what were the issues dividing the Lutherans from the Swiss. In 1524 Luther and Zwingli were requested by the city council of Strasbourg to give their opinions on the eucharistic doctrine of Andreas Carlstadt, and thus began their great controversy. From that time until the Marburg Colloquy in 1529, which was unsuccessful in bridging the gulf between the two sides, the sacrament became the subject of numerous treatises by the opposing parties.²¹ The differences can be summarized as follows:

1) Luther understood the words, 'This is my body' to mean, as Rupp puts it, "simply what they said, and insisted that no trope should be read into Scripture where the context did not demand it".²² Zwingli, on the other hand, took the 'is' of the institution narrative to be a trope and to be understood as 'signifies' (*significat*); it was not to be taken literally. In his 1526 treatise, Eine Klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christ, he argued that the words of Christ must be understood figuratively or metaphorically. 'This is my body' means 'the bread signifies my body' or 'is a figure of my body'.²³

2) Luther considered the institution narrative to determine its own meaning, while Zwingli and Oecolampadius at Marburg appealed to John 6 as establishing the necessary context for properly interpreting the words of Jesus at the institution.²⁴

3) For Luther there was a difference between the "spiritual" eating of Christ's body by faith, which occurs both during and apart from the eucharist, and the "sacramental" or "corporeal" eating of

Christ's body, which occurs orally with the mouth of the body at the sacrament. The Swiss argument was that there is no other eating of Christ's body, except spiritually by faith. In his 1526 treatise, Zwingli repeatedly identified eating Christ's flesh with believing in Him as the one who has given his body and blood for men's redemption.²⁵ It is this teaching which Dom Gregory Dix regarded as the touchstone of Zwinglianism.²⁶

4) According to Zwingli and Oecolampadius, there is no value in eating Christ's flesh bodily (even if this could be done), if it is eaten spiritually. To eat the flesh bodily would not profit anything, argued Oecolampadius; the soul 'eats' spirit, and not flesh, asserted Zwingli.²⁷ Luther responded to this argument by claiming that it is not man's business to judge whether it is useful or not, but only to accept what God offers. He also connected bodily eating with the promise of forgiveness of sins attached to it by Christ.²⁸

5) Luther maintained that it is possible for the body of Christ itself, which has ascended into heaven and is at the Father's right hand, to be present also on earth in the sacrament.²⁹ Zwingli and Oecolampadius, understanding Christ's body to be a self-contained empirical object and as such limited to a specific place in heaven, rejected this eucharistic miracle of a simultaneous presence of His flesh.³⁰

6) The eucharistic presence on the earthly altar was for Luther a "substantial" one. The sacrament enables the communicant to receive the "substance" of Christ's body, the very flesh of Christ born of the Virgin.³¹ For Zwingli, on the other hand, there is no participation in the "substance" or "essence" of Christ's body; otherwise, one would eat Christ with all His flesh, bones, veins, nerves, marrow, etc., an unthinkable idea; nor is Christ's body corporeally present in the

bread.³²

7) According to Luther, the eucharist involves an objective consecration of the earthly elements through the recitation of the words of Christ which makes them to be the body and blood. For Zwingli, such a view was a return to the papacy. According to him, the words of Christ need to be comprehended by faith. The eating of Christ's body takes place not where words are spoken, but where they are believed, he asserted at Marburg.³³ Consequently, there are no words which create or effect a presence either in the supper or in the elements.³⁴ Whatever presence of Christ there is in the eucharist is there through the faith of the believing soul.³⁵

8) Luther, as a consequence of his understanding of eucharistic presence, permitted the adoration of Christ under the sacramental bread and wine, while Zwingli repudiated it, directing adoration to Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father in heaven.³⁶

Having briefly examined the main points of the Lutheran-Swiss controversy, we must now look at the orbit of ideas in which various Henrician divines and theological formulations moved. One of the leading figures in the emerging reformed movement in England was William Tyndale (?-1536), who has been called the chief spokesman of original English Protestantism.³⁷ As with other Englishmen of his era, Tyndale was influenced by Luther's theology,³⁸ but his eucharistic theology developed in another direction. In his treatise, A fruitfull and godly treatise expressing the right institution and usage of the Sacramentes of Baptisme, and the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Saviour Jesu Christ (1533), he argued that because the eucharist is similar to Old Testament signs, such as circumcision, the sabbath and the passover lamb, one is not compelled to believe in a bodily

presence of Christ, despite the *est* of the institution narrative. It was the custom of the ancient Jews, he argued, to name memorials and signs with the name of the thing signified so that the name might better keep the thing in mind. Similarly, in the eucharist Christ called the wine "which onely signifieth the bloud with the name of the bloud. And then it followeth that the bread is called his body after the same manner because it is the signe of his body".³⁹ One is bound to believe, he asserted, neither the Lutheran teaching that the "bread is the very body of Christe", nor Roman transubstantiation.⁴⁰ Rather, in the eucharist the "rehearsing of the covenant and breakyng of the bread, and powryng out of wine, much more lyvely expresse the whole storie (of salvation) and kept it better in memorie", with power "to heale the conscience".⁴¹ The communicant, "through faith eateth (Christ's) body and drinketh his bloud", Tyndale taught.⁴² The body of Christ, however, could no more be in the sacrament than God was in the golden calf which Jeroboam set up.⁴³ Moreover, a belief in such a presence leads to idolatry and the false worship of God, he argued; prayer ought not to be directed to "any God in earth", but only up where "our Kyngdome is", where Christ sits at the Father's right hand.⁴⁴

G. W. Locher has claimed that/sometime between 1528 and 1530 Tyndale accepted Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, perhaps due to the Marburg Colloquy. It is not without cause that Locher stated that for Tyndale the eucharist was a commemorative feast,⁴⁵ as his own words testify:

Here ye see by these wordes (of institution) that it was ordeined to kepe the death of Christ in minde, and to testifie that his body was given and his bloud shed for us..... Lo here ye see agayne that it was instituted to kepe the death of Christ in minde, and to testifie wherfore he dyed, even to save us from sinne, death and hell.....⁴⁶

Whether or not Tyndale's teaching was completely identical with that of

Zwingli, one can certainly see that it was working with many of the same basic ideas.⁴⁷

Tyndale was not the only Englishman to hold eucharistic views resembling the Swiss reforming party. The well-known 1533 treatise, "The Souper of the Lorde", presumably written by George Joye,⁴⁸ is another example of this tendency in early English Protestant sacramental thinking. Joye did not consider the eucharist to be a means of grace in that it communicates something to its recipients; rather, he understood it as a *sign* of grace by which the Christian assembly is put in mind of "grace, faith and love".⁴⁹ The bread and wine are signs of Christ's body and blood; the bread broken and distributed and the wine poured out put the receiver in remembrance of His sacrifice on the cross. In the words of institution, the *est* is to "be taken for *significat*, as much to say, as this signifieth my body". The bread and wine as "figures" and "signs" bear the name of the "thyng signified".⁵⁰

The implication of this for Joye was the same as it was for Zwingli. Although the bread is called the body of Christ, it is not the body of Christ itself, "so long and broke as it hanged on the crosse", since this body had ascended into heaven. The supper, according to Joye, puts into the hearts of believers "by the spirite of faith" a joyful remembrance and commemoration which enables them to give thanks for the benefits of redemption and to see "with the eye of fayth presently his body broken and his bloud shed for our sinnes".⁵¹ To eat the body and to drink the blood of Christ is nothing other than to believe that His body was crucified for man's sins and His blood shed for man's salvation. Consequently, Joye was able to conclude, as did Zwingli, that the Old Testament fathers ate the same spiritual meat and drank the same spiritual drink through faith as does the New

Testament Church.⁵² The key for properly understanding the words of institution was to be located in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel. Moreover, Christ did not 'consecrate' bread at the Last Supper; he simply distributed it to the disciples after the thanksgiving, with the command to eat it. Hence, he gave no words of consecration or power either to make His body from bread or to bring it into the bread.⁵³ Christ's body has ascended into heaven and will remain there until the Second Coming.⁵⁴ The similarity between these ideas of Joye and the sacramental perspective of the Swiss is obvious. W. A. Clebsch has pointed out that a large number of paragraphs is nothing more than a summary of Zwingli's paraphrase of John 6 as it appeared in his 1526 treatise, and that Joye summarized the salient points of Zwingli's understanding of the institution, use and significance of the eucharist, with the literary dependence being only thinly veiled.⁵⁵

John Frith (1503-1533), another early English Protestant, set out his views in a clear and well-developed manner in his 1533 response to Thomas More, entitled A Book made by John Frith, Prisoner in the Tower of London. The main points which he made in this work are as follows:

- 1) Belief in the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is no article of faith, it can save nobody, and Christians should not be bound to accept it under pain of anathema; neither party in the eucharist dispute should despise the other.⁵⁶
- 2) The bread is a "figure" or "remembrance" of Christ's body; it is not the corporeal body itself.⁵⁷
- 3) The wicked and the unfaithful only eat bread when they receive the sacrament, not Christ's body.⁵⁸
- 4) There is no oral reception of Christ's body even by the faithful.⁵⁹
- 5) There would be no value in eating Christ's natural flesh, even if that were possible.⁶⁰
- 6) The Old Testament faithful ate Christ spiritually, no less than does the New Testament Church.⁶¹
- 7) There is no creative consecration of

bread and wine to make them the body and blood through any words, because "it is ever consecrated in hys hart that believeth, though the Priest consecrate it not".⁶² 8) Eucharistic adoration is idolatry, since through the "beliefe that hys body is there, men fall downe and worship" bread.⁶³ 9) Lastly, the body of Christ is received and eaten through faith along with the bread.⁶⁴ Because of this final element in his thinking, some scholars have claimed that Frith understood the sacrament as having not only a significative value, but that the sign conveys the thing signified.⁶⁵ Both Clebsch and Davies have argued for an indebtedness to Oecolampadius on the part of Frith.⁶⁶

Although theologians such as Tyndale, Joye and Frith are indicative of a tendency in early English Protestant eucharistic theology which had far more in common with Zurich and Basle than it did with Wittenberg, when reform did arrive on official levels of the Henrician Church it was orientated in the Lutheran direction rather than in the Swiss. This must be said with a certain reserve, since Henry VIII's interest in his contacts with German Lutheran princes between 1532 and 1536 was something other than a profound interest in their theology.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, during those Anglo-German contacts and negotiations, Thomas Cromwell, the King's Minister, saw to it that English translations of the Augustana and its Apologia were published.⁶⁸ More importantly, Lutheran theologians came to England and English divines went to Germany for discussions, with the result that in 1536 a series of articles, known as the "Wittenberg Articles", were agreed upon by the two sides, including Luther. Rupp has argued that it was through the medium of these articles that the Augustana entered into the English confessional controversy.⁶⁹ The pertinent texts of the two documents are as follows:

1530 Augustana

1536 "Wittenberg Articles"

Von dem Abendmahl des herren wird also gelehrt, dass Wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sein und da ausgeteilt und genommen werde. Derhalben wird auch die gegenlehr verworsen.

Quod ad decimum articulum confessionis nostrae attinet, constanter credimus et docemus quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini vere substantialiter et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini, et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et corporaliter exhibeantur et distribuantur omnibus illis, qui sacramentum accipiunt.

As can be seen, although the 1536 article is more developed, its fundamental assertion is the same as that of the Augustana - the "true" body of Christ is "truly" present "under the form of bread". The use of terms such as "*corporaliter*" and "*substantialiter*" in the Wittenberg statement, and its claim that Christ's body is given to *all* who receive the sacrament were, as we have already seen, part of Luther's teaching. Moreover, neither of the above articles attempts to explain this presence through a change of the bread's substance.

It was through the "Wittenberg Articles", in Rupp's view, that Lutheran eucharistic teaching then influenced the English "Ten Articles" of 1536, the "Bishops' Book" of 1537 and the "Thirteen Articles" of 1538,⁷² which expressed the doctrine of Christ's presence in the following ways:

The "Ten Articles" of 1536	The "Bishops' Book" of 1537	The "Thirteen Articles" of 1538
"Fourthly, as touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do	"As touching the sacrament of the altar, we think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge,....	"De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento Domini, vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuentur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt siue bonis siue malis". ⁷⁵

see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto all and of all them which receive the said sacrament. And that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour; and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probet igitur seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne iudicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini;* that is to say, Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ: wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. For whoever

for our redemption. And that under.... corporally, really, and in the very same substance....

according to the saying of St. Paul, whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ: wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. For whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, be eateth and drinketh it to his own damnation: because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ, and other kinds of meat".⁷⁴ (Except in the above ways, it is the same as the "Ten Articles".)

eateth it or drinketh it
unworthily, he eateth and
drinketh it to his own
damnation: because he
putteth no difference
between the very body of
Christ and ⁷³other kinds
of meat".

The significance of these statements is to be found both in what they contained and in what they did not contain. On the one hand, they asserted 1) that in the eucharist the body of Christ is "truly", "really" and "substantially" present (the 1536 and 1537 articles add "corporeally"), 2) that the body is present "under the form of bread", and 3) that it is "exhibited"⁷⁶ and received by all who receive the sacrament. On the other hand, and very importantly, these documents refrained from using language of "change" in describing the eucharistic presence, and certainly made no assertion of transubstantiation. In both these aspects, they closely resembled the conciliatory language of the Augustana and the "Wittenberg Articles". Whether or not there were reservations in the minds either of those who participated in the creation of these statements or of those who authorized them, the articles themselves show a marked similarity to early Lutheran sacramental teaching.

This tendency toward the Lutheran sacramental position, however, was short lived, since in 1539 Henry VIII imposed the "Six Articles" which reasserted the doctrine of transubstantiation,⁷⁷ a position which was to be repeated in the 1543 "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man", otherwise known as the "King's Book".⁷⁸ At the end of the Henrician era, therefore, the old orthodoxy was reaffirmed on the official level.

(ii) The Edwardian Period

With the death of Henry VIII, the English Church entered a new phase, both in terms of her relationship with continental Protestantism and of her own theological development. C. Cross has described the period between 1547 and 1553 as the almost unhindered advance of Protestantism in England, a time of great idealism when the reformed English Church came closest to being brought into full harmony with reformed continental Protestantism.⁷⁹ Continental influence in the Kingdom had indeed greatly increased. Owen Chadwick has remarked that if the number of imported or English printed books by the chief divines of Zurich, Zwingli, Bullinger and Gualter, was only a trickle in the 1530s, it became a "wave during the reign of Edward VI".⁸⁰ More radical theologians and churchmen, such as John Hooper and Myles Coverdale, who had found the continent to have a more favourable atmosphere than Henrician England, returned from their places of refuge. Throughout Edward's reign there was friendly correspondence between Englishmen and continental Protestants, especially with the Swiss. Henry Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich, was one such man; he maintained such extensive literary contact that he has been called "a chief adviser of the English Reformers".⁸¹ The English press was, as C. D. Cromeans puts it, "free to all enemies of the old beliefs, though closed tightly against the supporters of Roman Catholicism".⁸² Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, issued invitations to various continental Protestants to come to England in order to assist in his scheme for Protestant unity. Among those invited were Bullinger, John Calvin and Philip Melancthon.⁸³ While not all of those invited ever came, such as Calvin and Melancthon, a number of notable European divines did appear in England, either by

invitation or with official government approval. Prominent among these were Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, who became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Peter Martyr Vermigli of Florence, who held the same post at Oxford, John à Lasco, an immigrant Polish nobleman, Paul Fagius from Switzerland and Bernardino Ochino of Siena.⁸⁴ While the personal prestige of Calvin in England did not reach its height during the reign of Edward,⁸⁵ his thinking was not entirely unknown. In 1549, for example, an English translation by Myles Coverdale of his 1541 Petit Traicté de la Sainte Cene appeared.⁸⁶ Taking these factors into consideration, it seems highly unlikely that English sacramental theology managed to develop in lofty isolation from continental influence.⁸⁷

If Edward's reign was marked by changes in theological thinking, as has been suggested, we must look to see how these changes found expression in the eucharistic doctrine of various prominent divines and of official formularies of the Church. Before we do this, however, we must once again first consider various developments on the continent with regard to the eucharistic controversy.

If Luther and Zwingli were unable to reach agreement on the question of Christ's presence in the eucharist, there were others, however, who still struggled for Protestant unity. One such theologian, Martin Bucer (1491-1551), not only succeeded in uniting the South German cities of Constance, Lindau and Memmingen with Strasbourg through the 1530 *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, but also was instrumental in achieving the *Wittenberg Concord* of 1536, which one scholar has labelled as "a considerable *coup* for the Reformed cause".⁸⁸ This carefully worded statement, however, failed to achieve its purpose; Lutheran and Swiss remained estranged on the eucharistic issue.⁸⁹ Bucer's understanding

was a "mediating" theology of sacramental presence, which contained elements in common with both sides of the dispute. Like both of them, he denied transubstantiation. Like the Swiss, he repudiated 1) a 'local' presence of Christ's body in the bread, 2) *manducatio oralis* with its consequence of *manducatio impiorum*,⁹⁰ and 3) a literal understanding of the '*est*' of the institution narrative. Like the Lutherans, he denied that the sacrament consists only of bread and wine, and affirmed that Christ is '*realiter*' and '*substantialiter*' present in the Supper and feeds His people with His body and blood. Bucer combined these two sides of his teaching by arguing that in the eucharistic action, or the use of Christ's words and bread and wine, the body and blood are "exhibited" and given by the eucharistic symbols to faith. The exhibition of Christ in the sacrament he described as "heavenly" and "spiritual".⁹¹

The importance of Bucer's thought lies in the modifications and subtleties which he introduced into the discussion of eucharistic presence.⁹² Although it seems that essentially his teaching had more in common with the Swiss than with the Lutherans, it moved in a Lutheran direction and frequently employed Lutheran realistic language.⁹³ What Bucer succeeded in doing was to introduce into the eucharistic controversy a mediating sacramental theology, which, whether adequate or not, came to have a powerful influence over subsequent developments in Protestant sacramental doctrine.

Eucharistic doctrine as formulated by John Calvin, perhaps the most systematic of the reformers, "carried further the attempt of Bucer to find a middle position between Luther and the Zwinglians".⁹⁴ Calvin was at Strasbourg with Bucer for several years, although his views had been largely formed before he left France, and he was regarded as an adherent of Melancthon's 1540 Variata edition of the

Augustana.⁹⁵ H. Smith has argued that the general position of Bucer and Calvin is practically the same, both laying stress on the "true and spiritual reception of Christ's true body and blood".⁹⁶

Calvin's teaching, as expressed between 1536 and 1541, can be summarized as follows: 1) The words of institution are neither literal nor merely figurative, but teach that the souls of the faithful are fed with Christ's body and blood.⁹⁷ 2) Christ is locally present at the Father's right hand and is not present in or under the bread or locally joined to it.⁹⁸ 3) The visible signs not only represent, but present as by *instrumentis*, or "exhibit", the body and blood in such a way that as the bread is distributed the body is communicated.⁹⁹ 4) The *faithful* recipient of the sacramental bread and wine has fellowship not only with Christ's Spirit, but also with His humanity and the very "substance" of His body.¹⁰⁰ 5) To adore Christ in the bread is idolatry.¹⁰¹ 6) To reserve the sacrament is wrong, since the promise attached to the bread and wine does not go beyond the eucharistic action.¹⁰² 7) The words of institution are not directed to the elements, but to those who are to receive them; the "word" of the sacrament is not simply the word uttered, but the word understood. Hence, the consecration of the Roman Church is mere sorcery.¹⁰³ 8) The Spirit is the agent by which participation in Christ takes place in the sacrament.¹⁰⁴ Here, then, we have what one scholar has labelled an example of "the mature 'True' Presence viewpoint", which shared with Bucer's teaching important similarities.¹⁰⁵

It is important at this point that we take note of the accord reached in 1549 between Calvin and Zwingli's successor at Zurich, John Bullinger. This agreement, known as the *Consensus Tigurinus*, brought together the eucharistic teachings of what one might call the right and left wings of non-Lutheran Protestantism. It was affirmed that,

while a distinction should be made between the signs and the things signified, yet the "truth" (*veritatis*) should not be understood as disjoined from the signs. One should acknowledge that all who in faith embrace the promises offered there, also spiritually receive Christ with His spiritual gifts. The *Consensus* further taught that 1) attention should not be given to the bare signs (*signa nuda*), but to the promises attached to them, 2) Christ, while offered to all, can only be received by faith, 3) this occurs through the power of the Spirit, 4) the faithful communicate in Christ, not only in the eucharist, but before and outside of its use, 5) there is no local presence in the bread, 6) Christ's body is in heaven as in a place (*in coelo ut in loco est*), and 7) Christ is not to be adored *in pane, vel in sacramento*, since the sign is not the body itself, nor is the body included or attached to it such as would permit it to be adored as there present.¹⁰⁶

"Zwinglianism" as meaning "bare memorialism", if indeed it had ever been that,¹⁰⁷ was brought to an end by this concord, which has been called the "virtual canonization of 'True' Presence doctrine".¹⁰⁸ What is significant for our purposes is that by 1549 most of non-Lutheran Protestantism had reached sufficient agreement on the eucharistic issue that one is justified in speaking of "Reformed true presence" sacramental doctrine. Whatever differences remained among its various theologians in their speculations, these can be considered as differences in *emphasis* rather than differences in *kind*.¹⁰⁹

Now we must return to the English theological scene to see what changes were taking place in the thinking of theologians and in the official formulations of doctrine. The first divine to be considered is Nicholas Ridley (1500-1555), Bishop of London, who, during the early Marian years, was active in articulating his eucharistic teaching.¹¹⁰

In his 1554 A Brief Declaration of The Lord's Supper, he argued that all the questions in the sacramental controversy depend on one central issue - whether the "matter" of the sacrament is the "natural substance of bread or the natural substance of Christ's own body".¹¹¹ Ridley's answer to this question was to affirm the former and to deny the latter. Accordingly, he drew the following conclusions during 1554 and 1555:

1) The 'natural substance' of Christ's human nature is in heaven until the last day (A Brief Declaration).¹¹² Hence, the "real and corporal substance which He took of the Virgin" is not present in the supper on earth (1555 Oxford Disputations).¹¹³

2) Nonetheless, the "Heavenly Lamb is..... on the Table, but by a *spiritual presence by grace*", and the blood of Christ is in the chalice, "but not in the real presence, but *by grace, and in a Sacrament*" (Oxford Disputations).¹¹⁴ Similarly, Ridley professed before the Queen's Commissioners in 1555 that the "very true and natural body and blood of Christ", born of Mary and ascended into heaven, are present "*by spirit and grace*", or "*by grace and efficacy*" in the eucharist.¹¹⁵

3) The bread and wine are "tokens and signs" of the body and blood, and they can be said to be "changed" in their "use, office and dignity" (A Brief Declaration).¹¹⁶ Through a "sacramental mutation", the cause of which is the "omnipotency of Christ's word", common bread is "made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure but *effectually* representeth His body" (1555 Examination).¹¹⁷ This did not mean for Ridley, however, that there was any presence in or under the elements themselves, no enclosing of a "natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine".¹¹⁸ Rather, as he said at Oxford, "grace" is given by the sacrament as by an "instrument", since the sacrament has a promise of grace made to

those who receive it worthily. Christ, however, has not "transferred grace into the bread and wine".¹¹⁹

4) The body of Christ feeds the "internal soul", even as the communicant's body is nourished by the visible bread (Examination).¹²⁰

5) The "wicked and the faithless" do not receive Christ's body; "evil men do eat the body sacramentally, but good men eat the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament" (Oxford Disputations).¹²¹

6) This body of Christ which is given "in a mystery to the faithful in the supper after a spiritual communication, and by grace" is also received outside of the sacrament by hearing the Gospel and by faith (Oxford Disputations).¹²²

7) To adore Christ's body as present under the form of bread is idolatry and sacrilege, since it gives to a creature what should be reserved for God. Such adoration "is not to be done unto the holy sacrament" (A Brief Declaration).¹²³

Ridley certainly taught a 'true' presence, as opposed to empty symbolism, and at times he used Roman-sounding language.

In 1555, for example, he argued that he and his Roman opponents agreed that the "Sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ", but disagreed *in modo* only.¹²⁴ He was quick, however, to

qualify this in such a way as to eliminate a presence of Christ's body itself,¹²⁵ which, as we have already seen, he regarded as limited to

heaven. Given the language which he at times used and given

the negations which he made, there is a certain difficulty in understanding exactly how Ridley conceived of Christ's presence in the eucharist, as even his examiners acknowledged.¹²⁶ Consequently,

scholars have varied in their interpretations.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, it can safely be concluded that he stood solidly within the Reformed camp, and that, because of his strong realistic language and the close connection

which he at times made between the sacramental presence and the earthly signs, he belongs in the right-hand wing of that camp.

Another ecclesiastical leader to be considered is John Hooper (?-1555), Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, who was martyred in 1555 during the Marian years. Hooper explicitly repudiated both transubstantiation and the Lutheran teaching that the body is "corporally, substantially, really and bodily" in the bread and is given by the hand in, with and under the bread though not subject to the senses.¹²⁸ He regarded the teaching that Christ's human nature is present in the eucharist on earth as opposed to both Scripture and the Creed. Christ, corporeally with all the properties of a body, is at the Father's right hand, which is a place and is not everywhere, he argued.¹²⁹ There is no eucharistic miracle which makes the body of Christ to be present without its corporeal qualities; if that were the case, it would be like making a "great fire without heat".¹³⁰

The sacrament is not, however, a "bare sign and token of (Christ's) death only, as many imagine", Hooper argued.¹³¹ In the supper, the communicant, trusting in the merits of Christ's body and soul which are ascended into heaven, receives "in spirit" the "effect, marrow, sweetness and commodity of Christ's precious body, though it never descends corporally".¹³² He is made partaker of the "spiritual graces and communion of Christ's body and blood" represented by the bread and wine. There is no *manducatio oralis* of Christ's body and no *manducatio impiorum*; rather, the Spirit delivers it to the faith of the communicant, which is "mounted and ascended into heaven".¹³³ To eat Christ's body in the sacrament is nothing other than to ascend to heaven by faith and to believe.¹³⁵ There is no difference between the Old Testament and New Testament manducation of Christ other than the external signs.¹³⁶

It is not surprising, given the above characteristics of his teaching, that Hooper has often been linked with the theology of Zwingli and Zurich; nor should it be forgotten that he spent nearly two years in Zurich between 1547 and 1549 and later carried on an extensive correspondence with Bullinger.¹³⁷ This certainly does not mean, as has already been seen, that he taught any empty or bare memorialism. For Hooper there was a reception of Christ's body in the eucharist, but there was no necessary relationship between the reception of the external signs and the reception of that body. In this respect, then, he represented the English far left of the 'true' presence doctrine.¹³⁸

Perhaps no figure from the Edwardian and Marian years has received so much attention from scholars as Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury. His eucharistic theology has produced in the twentieth century probably more discussion than that of any other English sixteenth-century divine. While the question of stages in his understanding of the sacrament has not been without considerable debate,¹³⁹ we shall be concerned only with a summary of his mature eucharistic teaching: 1) With regard to the body of Christ itself, which shares all the characteristics and limitations of human bodies, it is "really, corporally, naturally and sensibly" absent from this world. According to his human nature, Christ is "so in heaven that he is not in earth".¹⁴⁰ What is present on earth is the divinity of Christ.¹⁴¹ 2) Nevertheless, there is an eating of the body of Christ which takes place, not with the mouth, but by faith.¹⁴² As the communicant's body feeds on the bread, so the "inward man" feeds on Christ.¹⁴³ This eating takes place when the faithful lift up their hearts to heaven and there "spiritually" eat His flesh and drink His blood.¹⁴⁴ 3) Cranmer precluded any notion of the sacraments as instruments of divine grace and any presence, other than figurative, in

the elements themselves. He emphasized the presence in the ministration or use of the sacrament and in the worthy recipient.¹⁴⁵

"Faith is the one instrument" in Cranmer's teaching, as Brooks puts it, "that, from the human angle, can bring communion with Christ".

Although Cranmer held that grace is conferred in the sacrament, this happens solely by man's faith operated by the Spirit.¹⁴⁶

4) The proper consecration of the eucharist is not that of the papalists who make "themselves makers of God" and teach that the celebrant makes what is eaten in the supper to be Christ Himself. Rather, through the words of institution the elements are separated from a "profane and worldly use to a spiritual and godly use".¹⁴⁷ As E. C. Ratcliff has pointed out, according to Cranmer the "words are 'consecrating' only in an entirely new sense of that term, if at all. They are not spoken to or for the bread and wine..... They are spoken to or for the communicants, to confirm their faith that 'Christ gave his body and shed his blood upon the Cross for' them".¹⁴⁸ 5) Finally, Cranmer rejected the adoration of the sacrament or any presence under the external signs.¹⁴⁹ One should adore Christ "sitting in heaven in the glory of his Father".¹⁵⁰

Whatever other descriptions scholars have at times applied to Cranmer's eucharistic doctrine,¹⁵¹ it is sufficient for our purposes to recognise that "the Archbishop became the clear exponent of a 'True' Presence doctrine that embodied the main features of what may be called the Swiss viewpoint".¹⁵² Because in his teaching there is no instrumental connection between the bread and wine and the conveyance of Christ's body and blood, and because he did not allow for a participation in the "substance" of Christ, Cranmer should, however, be distinguished from the "right wing" exponents of this doctrine, such as

Calvin. In this respect, he, like Hooper, stood in the "left-wing" closer to the original teaching of Zwingli.¹⁵³

Now we must turn from individual theologians to the official formularies of the English Church to see what theological changes were taking place on that level. In 1549 what is known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI was published; it is generally agreed that Cranmer had a chief hand in drawing it up.¹⁵⁴ The eucharistic doctrine contained in this service book has been susceptible to greatly varying interpretations, both in the sixteenth century and subsequently. Anything from 'Zwinglianism' to transubstantiation has been claimed as its teaching.¹⁵⁵ Whether or not the book represents a piece of planned equivocation,¹⁵⁶ and whatever theological changes were taking place in the thinking of its architects, the text and rubrics of the eucharistic rite provide us with a certain definite outline of sacramental doctrine: 1) The eucharistic prayer calls upon God to bless and sanctify with His "Spirit and word" the bread and wine, so that "they may be unto us" the body and blood of Christ.¹⁵⁷ 2) The communicant eats the flesh and drinks the blood of Christ in "these holy Mysteries" in such a way that both his body and soul are affected: "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood".¹⁵⁸ 3) At the distribution the minister identifies what he is delivering as "the body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee".¹⁵⁹ 4) A rubric at the end of the mass explicitly teaches a presence of Christ in the elements: "men must not think less to be received in part (of the bread) than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ".¹⁶⁰ 5) Another rubric states that the minister should provide only enough bread and wine as will be sufficient for the communicants.¹⁶¹

Given these characteristics, it is not surprising that Stephen Gardiner still found the old faith taught in the 1549 rite,¹⁶² and that Martin Bucer criticized the service precisely in those areas, such as the epiclesis and the two rubrics, which could serve to indicate a presence in the elements themselves.¹⁶³ While transubstantiation was neither affirmed nor eliminated by the rite, the form of consecration was not altogether pleasing to all advocates of Roman doctrine, and the abolition of the elevation was a marked divergence from the Roman rite.¹⁶⁴ Taking this into account, together with its positive teaching of a presence of Christ in the elements, one could conclude with some justification that the doctrine ^{/of eucharistic presence} which the 1549 Book *contains* (as distinct from questions of sources and authors' intentions) in many ways resembles Lutheran teaching, with the addition of an epiclesis.¹⁶⁵

Three years later in 1552, however, the Prayer Book was revised in such a way as to eliminate the possibility of either Roman or Lutheran interpretation. The epiclesis was removed and replaced with words which refer to the communicants being made "partakers" of Christ's body and blood in "receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesu Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion".¹⁶⁶ The distribution formula directed the minister delivering "the bread" to say, "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving".¹⁶⁷ The rubric dealing with Christ's presence in the bread was eliminated, and a rubric was added permitting the curate to have for his own use whatever bread and wine remained. The so-called "Black Rubric", added at the last moment before publication, forbade any adoration of either the sacramental bread and wine or any "real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and

blood", since the "natural body and blood" of Christ are "in heaven and not here", it being "against the truth of Christ's true natural body, to be in more places than in one at one time".¹⁶⁸

These negative elements may seem to have eliminated any presence and manducation of Christ whatsoever. But this is not the case. The eucharistic prayer still spoke of being made "partakers of his most blessed body and blood", as noted above. The Exhortation still taught that when one receives the sacrament with "penitent heart and lively faith", one "spiritually eat(s) the flesh of Christ, and drink(s) his blood".^{168b} And the Prayer of Humble Access, which refers to the eating of "the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ", and the drinking of his blood, was retained, albeit in an altered position.¹⁶⁹ In the new service, it came before the eucharistic prayer, whereas in the older one it came afterwards. It would seem that this change was made in order to dissociate the presence of Christ from the consecrated elements, and to eliminate any adoration of Christ in them (the prayer was said kneeling).

What one finds, then, in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI is a eucharistic liturgy which expresses Reformed eucharistic doctrine. Without defining the exact relationship between the earthly elements and the manducation of Christ's body and blood, it reflects the tendency of "left-wing" exponents of the 'true' presence doctrine to loosen the connection between the two.¹⁷⁰

The 1553 XLII Articles of Religion continued the "true" presence doctrine, stating that the bread and wine are a "communion of Christ's body and blood for those who 'rightlie, wourthelie, and with faieth'" receive the sacrament. Transubstantiation was denied, and reservation, processions with the eucharist, elevation and adoration of the sacrament

were rejected as not commanded by Christ's ordinance.¹⁷¹ The "reall, and bodilie presence" of Christ's body and blood was repudiated because the "bodie of Christe cannot bee presente at one time in many, and diverse places", and that body is now in heaven and "there shall continue unto the ende of the worlde".¹⁷²

If the sacramental doctrine of the XLII Articles was more definite in the errors it rejected than in its articulation of how one is rightly to think of the eucharistic presence, the 1553 Short Catechism, which was added to some copies of the Articles, was more positive. It taught not only that "the bread representeth his body", but that "as by bread and wine our natural bodies are sustained and nourished: so by the body, that is the flesh and blood of Christ, the soul is fed through faith, and quickened to the heavenly and godly life". "Faith", it declared, "is the mouth of the soul, whereby we receive this heavenly meat". This manducation of Christ's body occurs by the "lively working of the Spirit" when one believes in the passion and confesses and acknowledges Christ as Saviour and Redeemer.¹⁷³ Taken together, the XLII Articles and the Short Catechism contain the broad outlines of a 'true' presence doctrine, without specifying the exact connection between the bread and wine and the body and blood. The link, however, seems to be stronger than in the 1552 Prayer Book, since the Articles specifically state that the elements are a communion of Christ's body and blood when rightly received.

The ascendancy of 'true' presence eucharistic teaching was momentarily brought to an end on official levels during the reign of Queen Mary. In November 1554, the Kingdom was received back into the Roman fold.¹⁷⁴ With the restoration of the old faith and its accompanying persecution of reform-minded churchmen, divines such as

Ridley, Latimer and Cranmer ended their careers and their lives at the stake, while others found themselves as exiles on the continent. It is worthy of note that these Marian exiles were not welcomed in Lutheran territories. As Dugmore has pointed out, the Lutherans, no less than the Romans, regarded the English as "sacramentarians" and would not tolerate such eucharistic views in their domains.¹⁷⁵ The eight hundred or so English people who made their way to the continent found refuge among Reformed Protestants; consequently, many came under the influence of theologians such as Peter Martyr, Bullinger and Calvin.¹⁷⁶ Cremeans has argued that the regard which the Lutherans had for the English exiles as already lost to Lutheranism is a strong indication of the English trend in the direction of the Swiss Reformed faith during Edward VI's reign. Moreover, their acceptance in continental Reformed territories is "of great significance in view of the influence of some of the Marian exiles in favouring Calvinism during the reign of Elizabeth".¹⁷⁷

(iii) The Elizabethan Years

During the Elizabethan years, which lasted from 1558-1603, there was, without doubt, a great deal of continental Reformed Protestant influence in England. Most of the appointees to the episcopate in the early years of the reign were drawn from the ranks of the Marian exiles, men who had had personal contact with Reformed leaders and some of whom maintained contacts with their continental friends after their return to England.¹⁷⁸ The popularity of Reformed theology among Elizabethan Englishmen is indicated by the number of such books either published in the British Isles or published abroad in English. Cremeans has pointed out that at least one work of Calvin was printed almost every year between 1548 and 1634, and between 1578 and 1581 six to eight

were published every year. "Between 1548 and 1600 no other writer had nearly so many publications in English as John Calvin had", Cremeans writes.¹⁷⁹ In 1556, for example, Calvin's Catechisme was published in Geneva in English, and in 1561 his Institution of the Christian Religion, translated by T. Norton, was published in London. Both had numerous subsequent editions throughout the remainder of the century.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the use of Reformed theological writings was enjoined by various ecclesiastical and university authorities. In 1586, for example, Bullinger's Decades, which contains a eucharistic teaching along 'true' presence lines, was required by the Convocation of Canterbury to be read weekly by "every minister having cure, and being under the degrees of master of arts, and bachelors of law, and not licensed to be a public preacher".¹⁸¹ Calvin's Institutes superseded the Decades as the recognized manual of the clergy and the divinity textbook at Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1587 his Catechisme was ordered by statute to be used in the universities.¹⁸² P. Hughes has claimed that the Elizabethan reformers, for the most part, were very conscious that they were one in faith with the continental Reformed Protestants, citing as evidence two letters of the renowned Bishop John Jewel. In 1559 Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, assuring him that "we have exhibited to the queen all our articles of religion and doctrine, and have not departed in the slightest from the Confession of Zurich" (the *Consensus Triguirinus*), and in 1562, he repeated this assurance: "...for as to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail breadth; for as to the ubiquitarian theory there is no danger in this country".¹⁸³ To ignore the obvious and public influence and popularity of Reformed theology in England during the Elizabethan years

would be to ignore the theological milieu of Elizabethan eucharistic doctrine.

Now we must turn to two of the most important divines of those years, John Jewel and Richard Hooker, to see how they expressed the doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament. John Jewel (1522-1571), Bishop of Salisbury and apologist for Anglicanism, developed his teaching in the following way. There is, he argued, no change of the bread's "substance" or "nature", there is no "substantial" or "corporeal" presence of Christ in the eucharist, and Christ's body is not to be found in many places at the same time.¹⁸⁴ Christ is present on earth "by His Spirit and grace", not in His humanity and in the "substance of his body", which is in heaven.¹⁸⁵ The "carrying about and worshipping of bread" as practised in the Roman Church, is "idolatrous and blasphemous", he wrote.¹⁸⁶

Despite these negations, Jewel taught a presence of Christ in the sacrament: "We affirm that bread and wine are holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that by them Christ himself, being the true bread of eternal life, is so presently given unto us as that by faith we verily receive his body and blood".¹⁸⁷ This presence of Christ is by "his Godhead, by his Spirit, and by grace".¹⁸⁸ In one instance, Jewel identified what is received in the eucharist with the grace of Christ's body: "The grace flowing from Christ's body upon the Cross, and given to the faithful in the ministration of the holy mysteries, oftentimes leaveth the name of Christ's body, and is the ground, and substance of the sacrament; And whosoever is partaker of this grace, is also partaker of Christ's body".¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Jewel could still say that "in the Lord's Supper there is truly given unto the believing the body and blood of our

Lord".¹⁹⁰ The manducation of this eucharistic body, he taught, concerns only the communicant's soul, not his mouth; it occurs by faith and takes place through a lifting up of one's heart to heaven where Christ is.¹⁹¹ This eating is "ghostly and spiritual", a "peculiar work of the mind",¹⁹² and is possible only by the faithful.¹⁹³

Jewel was explicit in denying any spatial relationship between the earthly elements and the eucharistic presence. The bread, which is a figure or token, he said, is located on earth and lies on the table, while Christ's body, which is the thing figured or tokened, is found above in heaven.¹⁹⁹ As a consequence of his understanding of the spatial gulf between the elements and Christ, Jewel directed that no adoration, or divine worship, should be given to any presence on the altar; rather it should be offered to the "body of Christ, sitting above all heavens". "Where we eat it", Jewel said, "there must we worship it; therefore must we worship it sitting in heaven".¹⁹⁵

The consecration, by which bread is joined to God's word and becomes a sacrament, concerns "the converting of the natural elements into a godly use", and is, as St. Augustine taught, "the word of faith, which we preach", not a word whispered in secret.¹⁹⁶ Ratcliff has argued that, while Jewel agreed with Cranmer that consecration and use are inseparable, he, unlike Cranmer, regarded consecration as distinct from and prior to use, although he did not deal with the questions of whether this meant that consecration is directed toward the elements as well as toward the communicants and whether a new consecration would be needed for an additional supply of bread and wine.¹⁹⁷

The similarities between Jewel's exposition of eucharistic doctrine and the 'true' presence doctrine are obvious. As has already been seen, he himself was aware of his similarity in teaching with the church of Zurich.¹⁹⁸ His commentators also have acknowledged his links with

Reformed eucharistic doctrine.¹⁹⁹

Now we must consider the divine who was the apologist *par excellence* for the Elizabethan settlement,²⁰⁰ Richard Hooker (1554-1600). In the fifth book of his Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Hooker suggested, at one point, that the question of whether there is any alteration of the elements is irrelevant, since all the parties in the eucharistic controversy (the Roman, the Lutheran, and the so-called "sacramentarian", the third one being his own) teach that there is a "real participation of Christ and of life in his body and blood by means of this sacrament", and that this depends "on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us".²⁰¹ Whatever the other implications of this "agnosticism" might have been, as J. R. Parris has pointed out, Hooker was at least certain of what was wrong and needed to be excluded²⁰² - both transubstantiation and Lutheran "consubstantiation". Rejecting the notion that the "natural substance" of Christ's body is present either by co-existence with the consecrated bread or by the abolition of the substance of bread, he gave the third interpretation of the words of Christ, which, he argued, contain "nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true":

...This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and truth unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do²⁰³ presently need, that is *to them and in them* my body.

The eucharistic controversy, according to Hooker, concerned whether "Christ be whole within man only, or else his body and blood be also seated in the very consecrated elements themselves".²⁰⁴ His answer to this question was:

The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the

sacrament..... I see not which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body or the cup His blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them. As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow.²⁰⁵

Grace, he argued, "is a consequent of the sacraments". The sacraments "contain *in themselves* no vital force or efficacy"; they are not "physical but *moral* instruments of salvation".²⁰⁶ Christ is present at the "heavenly banquet with his personal and true presence" and by His divine power adds "to the natural substance thereof supernatural efficacy", which addition to the consecrated elements "changeth them and maketh them that unto us which otherwise they could not be". The bread and wine become "instruments" which "mystically yet truly, invisibly yet really" effect communion with both Christ's humanity and divinity, and effect the believer's participation in the "fruit, grace and efficacy" of the body. This produces a "kind of transubstantiation" in the communicant, a "true change both of body and soul, an alteration from death to life".²⁰⁷

However strongly Hooker asserted a presence of Christ in the eucharist, he was definite, like other defenders of the 'true' presence doctrine, that the human body of Christ itself is not present in the sacrament on earth. Christ, he argued, is "present whole, albeit a part of Christ be corporally absent from thence".²⁰⁸ His body, which retains all the natural properties of a body, cannot exist in many places at the same time without extinguishing the "verity of his nature". The "substance of the body of Christ hath no presence, neither can it have, but only local".²⁰⁹ Consequently, there is no "literal, corporal and oral manducation of the very substance of his flesh and blood",

according to Hooker. Rather, Christ's presence is received in the "heart and soul" of the communicant.²¹⁰ Not all who receive the sacraments of God's grace receive the grace of the sacraments, he said.²¹¹ This last statement should not be understood as implying that the body of Christ is always received although the reception of its 'grace' is dependent on the disposition of the communicant (as in Roman and Lutheran teaching), since for Hooker the "grace of the sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink".²¹² If the sacraments are received "with contempt", they do not give what they promise.²¹³

In his doctoral dissertation, Jarvis S. Morris has convincingly demonstrated the marked similarities between Hooker's doctrine of eucharistic presence and that of Calvin's Institutes. Morris concluded that Hooker was "avowedly Sacramentarian, following Calvin, Beza, Cranmer and Jewel". Because of certain distinctive characteristics, however, he should be labelled a "high Sacramentarian".²¹⁴ Similarly, J. S. Marshall linked Hooker's doctrine with that of Calvin, arguing that both were founded on what Marshall calls "occasionalism", which teaches that *when* the words and action of the sacrament are produced, God simultaneously effects what the words and elements symbolize.²¹⁵ Dugmore, who emphasized the independence of English eucharistic theology, acknowledged that, like the followers of Calvin, Hooker "stressed the reception by faith into the soul of the believer".²¹⁶ There can be little question that the "learned and judicious" Hooker stood solidly within the stream of 'true' presence doctrine.

Now we must turn to the official formularies of the Elizabethan years. In 1559, a new Prayer Book was produced, slightly more comprehensive, and more expressive of the positive side of Reformed sacramental doctrine than was the 1552 Book. Like the earlier rite,

the eucharistic canon teaches a participation in Christ's body and blood: "... and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesu Christ's holy Institution, in remembrance of his death and Passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood". Moreover, the words of distribution from the 1549 rite were joined to those of the 1552 service, so that it can be argued that the Elizabethan Prayer Book made a closer association between the earthly elements and the reception of Christ's body and blood, without rejecting the crucial Reformed tenet that this occurs by faith.²¹⁷ Another notable difference from the 1552 rite is that the "Black Rubric" was removed. Whether or not these modifications were made in order to facilitate "the alteration of religions easier for Catholics and for 'Lutherans' such as Richard Cheyney",²¹⁸ the rite as a whole still expresses the same fundamental eucharistic theology as the 1552 liturgy, but in what one might call a "High Reformed" manner.

Two sets of Articles of Religion were published during Elizabeth's reign, in 1563 and in 1571. These were, like the Elizabethan Prayer Book, somewhat less negative in tone than their Edwardian counterpart. Both sets of Articles, like the 1553 Articles, affirmed that to those who "rightly, worthily and with faith" receive the sacrament, the bread and wine are a partaking (or *communicatio*) of Christ's body and blood.²¹⁹ The explicit denials in the 1553 Articles that the body of Christ cannot be present in many places at the same time and that one ought not to believe in the "reall and bodilie presence" of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, however, are not found in the 1563 and 1571 Articles. In place of this denial one finds what can be regarded as the positive side of the 1553 negation: the body of Christ is given and eaten after "an heavenly and spirituall maner", and this occurs by

faith.²²⁰

As we have repeatedly seen, the exponents of 'true' presence eucharistic doctrine set this kind of doctrine of the presence and reception of Christ's body over against the Roman and Lutheran teaching of a corporeal and substantial presence received by the mouth. Even the specific coupling of the words "heavenly and spiritual" was not new.²²¹ Moreover, one of the few Elizabethans who may have held a Lutheran eucharistic doctrine, Bishop Richard Cheyney, objected to the Articles' statement that the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten "only" (*tantum*) after "an heavenly and spirituell maner", because he saw this as taking away the presence of Christ's body, at least as he understood it.²²²

Whatever question there might have been concerning the latitude allowed for by the 1563 Articles,²²³ the 1571 Articles added a further clarification of eucharistic presence by means of an explicit denial. The heading of a new article reads, "of the wicked which do not eate the body of Christe in the use of the Lordes Supper". Here it is taught that the wicked and those lacking a "livelye fayth" are not "partakers of Christe" even though they eat the sacrament. Such communicants eat and drink to their condemnation the "signe or Sacrament of so great a thing".²²⁴

Like the 1553 Articles, the Elizabethan Articles taught that the sacrament is not to be reserved, carried about, lifted up or worshipped, according to Christ's ordinance.²²⁵ Also, transubstantiation is again rejected, but this time with the added claim that it "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament".²²⁶

By 1571, therefore, the Church of England was officially committed to a eucharistic teaching which was solidly within the boundaries of the Reformed 'true' presence doctrine. Positively, it asserted a participa-

tion in Christ's body and blood, and negatively, it denied that reception of the sacramental elements necessarily means reception of Christ's body and blood.²²⁷

It may be useful at this point to look briefly at two documents which, though they lacked official ecclesiastical approval, nevertheless provide us with popular interpretations of the Church's doctrine. The first one, by Thomas Rogers, is entitled, The Faith, Doctrine and Religion, professed, and protected in the Realm of England, and dominions of the same: Expressed in 39 Articles (1579).²²⁸ In his commentary in article 28, Rogers repudiated transubstantiation, together with its ensuing practices of reservation, the adoration of Christ as present in the sacrament which he called "adoration of the bread", and the Corpus Christi procession with its "wafer-God", all of which Rogers described as "superstition and idolatry".²²⁹ He explicitly denied that Christ's body and blood are "really" and "substantially" present in the eucharist, having specifically rejected the beliefs that the humanity of Christ is present on earth and that what one receives in the sacrament is Christ's "real" body and blood.²³⁰ He also repudiated the beliefs that under every part of the host the whole Christ is contained and that the body of Christ is present "not only in use, while it is taken, but afore also, and after the communion".²³¹ This should not be construed as meaning that Rogers understood there to be a presence in the elements *during the use*, since he also taught what we have previously referred to as occasionalism:

Which spiritual bread, that he might the better represent, he hath instituted earthly and visible bread and wine, for a sacrament of his body and blood. Whereby he doth testify, that as verily as we receive the bread with the hands, and chew the same with the teeth and tongue, to the

nourishing of this life temporal, even so by faith
 (which is in place of hands and mouth to the soul)
 we verily receive the true body, and the true blood
 of Christ, our only Saviour to the²³² nourishing of
 the spiritual life in our souls.

Significantly, Rogers understood there to be "goodly consent with the most of the reformed churches and us" concerning this teaching. In his sidenotes, he gave references to continental Reformed confessions, such as the *Helvetica Confessio Fidei, Prior and Posterior* (1536 and 1566), the *Basileensis Prior Confessio Fidei* (1534), the *Confessio Fidei Gallicana* (1559) and the *Confessio Belgica* (1561).²³³

Commenting on article 29, "Of the wicked which do not eat the body and blood of Christ in the Use of the Lord's Supper", he naturally insisted on the necessity of faith in order to eat the body of Christ. What is important, however, is that again in his sidenotes he gave references to the Confessions of continental Reformed churches.²³⁴ He rejected the Roman and Lutheran teaching that there is a corporal, oral reception of Christ's body, and that "all communicants, bad and good, do eat the very and natural body of Christ Jesus".²³⁵ Here, then, we have an Elizabethan exposition of the eucharistic doctrine of the Articles of Religion which interpreted it in a consistent 'true' presence manner, and explicitly linked that doctrine with continental Reformed teaching.

Alexander Nowell's Catechism also deserves consideration here since, although it never received synodical approval, it was the most widely used catechism in England after its publication in 1570.²³⁶ (Latin and English editions appeared in that year; for convenience sake we shall cite the English translation.) In response to the question of whether one receives only a figure or the truth itself in the sacrament, Nowell stated that Christ made those who believe in him "partakers of his body and blood" just as surely as they receive the bread and wine with their mouths and stomachs. For this to occur, "we must lift our souls and

hearts from earth, and raise them up by faith to heaven, where Christ is". Through faith and "by secret and marvelous virtue of his Spirit" this manducation of and coupling with Christ takes place.²³⁷ Nowell, in consistent Reformed fashion, drew out the consequences of his doctrine, teaching that only the faithful feed on Christ's body and blood,²³⁸ and that Christ is not included in the bread and wine since such belief would cast doubt on the truth of Christ's body, which cannot be in many places at once.²³⁹ The communion with Christ which one has through the Gospel and Baptism is "confirmed" and "increased" in the supper, where the communicant's body is also given a "pledge" of resurrection and immortality.²⁴⁰ It is not without reason that Nowell's Catechism has been seen as similar to that of Calvin,²⁴¹ since every one of the above points found in Nowell's work is also found in Calvin's Catechisme, an English translation of which had appeared in 1556.²⁴²

From what we have seen, therefore, in her official formularies, in two of her major theologians, in a commentary on the Articles of Religion, and in her most popular catechism, the Elizabethan Church found herself solidly within the stream of Reformed 'true' presence doctrine. This is not to suggest a complete uniformity,²⁴³ but it is to suggest that whatever moved outside the boundaries of this theology was not in tune with the tendencies and direction of Anglican sacramental thinking during the Elizabethan years. To appreciate the full significance of this orientation of English theology, one must be aware that on the continent and in Scotland the various churches were in the process of consolidation and confession-making. The Reformed churches were producing numerous statements which continued and

developed 'true' presence eucharistic doctrine, not unlike that found in the English Church.²⁴⁴ Both the Roman and Lutheran churches, however, were fortifying themselves precisely against such a teaching. In 1551, the Council of Trent had solemnly defined the doctrine of transubstantiation and defended the cult, veneration and reservation of the sacrament.²⁴⁵

The Lutheran situation was somewhat more complicated. Already as early as the late 1530s, Philip Melancthon, Luther's friend and colleague, had begun to emphasize the presence of Christ's body in the use of the sacrament, rather than in the elements themselves, and in 1540 he adjusted the article on the sacrament in the *Augustana* (the famous *Variata* edition), which made it acceptable to Reformed theologians such as Calvin.²⁴⁶ In the 1550s and 1560s, the second stage in the continental "supper-strife" broke out between Reformed divines such as Calvin and Bullinger and strict Lutherans such as Joachim Westphal, Johann Brenz and Martin Chemnitz. Melancthon's followers, known as "Philipists" or "Melancthonians", further developed his orientation in eucharistic doctrine, and consequently, between 1560 and 1574 there ensued the great "crypto-Calvinistic" controversy within Lutheranism between the "Philipists" (or "crypto-Calvinists") and the "Gnesio-Lutherans" (the "true" Lutherans).²⁴⁷ The eventual defeat of the "Philipists" finally resulted in the definition of eucharistic teaching provided by the Konkordienformel of 1580. Here it was taught that in the eucharist there is a real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood, illocally, spiritually and transcendently, in with and under the bread and wine (no "impanation"), the oral manducation of Christ's body in a supernatural manner, its reception by even the unbelieving, the legitimacy of adoring Christ in the sacrament,

and consecration through the words of institution. Moreover, it explicitly set itself over against even the "high" wing of what we have called the 'true' presence doctrine, and warned against those divines who used Lutheran-sounding language, but filled it with a Reformed content.²⁴⁸ By 1580, therefore, the Lutheran churches, no less than the Roman, had publicly and explicitly set themselves against precisely that kind of eucharistic doctrine /^{which} was being expounded and defended in the Elizabethan Church.

Having briefly looked at the development of sixteenth-century eucharistic thought, we can draw the following conclusions. After going through many of the same struggles with regard to eucharistic doctrine as did their continental contemporaries, sixteenth-century Anglicans had by the latter half of the century committed themselves to what we have called Reformed or 'true' presence teaching. While there remained certain differences among the various expositors of this teaching, such as the exact relationship between the earthly elements and the reception of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, and while not every theologian or formulation dealt with all aspects or implications of the doctrine, it is nevertheless possible to identify the main features of the doctrine:

1) The body of Christ itself is a self-contained empirical object, and as such is present only in heaven and not in the eucharistic celebration on earth.²⁴⁹ This is perhaps the most important characteristic, since it served as the fundamental basis, either explicitly or implicitly, for the rest of their thinking. It also sheds light on their rejection of adjectives such as "corporeal" or "substantial" to describe Christ's body as present *on earth* in the sacrament. It is here that the essential similarity with other Reformed divines, and the

essential difference from Lutherans and Romans, is to be found.

2) There is, nevertheless, a certain connection between Christ and the eucharistic celebration which enables one to speak of a presence in the sacrament. The descriptions of how this connection occurs are varied; by the "Holy Spirit" and by "grace" are two of the most popular expressions used.

3) The believing communicant is given to feed on, have communion with, and receive into his soul the "body of Christ", a process which occurs by faith, not by the mouth. There is no reception of this "body" by the unbelieving.

4) This presence is not to be spatially located in the earthly bread and wine themselves, although a certain "instrumental" use of the elements to "convey" the heavenly body and blood is accepted by some of the divines.

5) This means that "consecration" concerns setting the elements apart for use, not a bringing of a presence *into* them.

6) Consequently, the adoration of Christ, while it may occur *at* the eucharist, is not directed toward His presence under the earthly sacramental elements.

Having in mind, then, this brief historical background and the above characteristics of sixteenth century English eucharistic theology, we can now turn to the early Caroline divines of the next century. Where they stood in relation to continental sacramental theologies /and hammered out in the sixteenth century,/where they stood in relation to the eucharistic doctrine of their sixteenth-century English forefathers, which provided the background and foundation of seventeenth-century eucharistic teaching are areas which must be investigated. The fundamental question with which we shall be concerned is - did they continue the 'true' presence doctrine of their predecessors and the

continental Reformed churches, or did they move away from this theology in other directions?

FOOTNOTES

¹Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England (from Cranmer to Hooker 1538-1603) 5 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961-1975), 1:76-77.

²Assertio Septem Sacramentorum or Defence of the Seven Sacraments, Louis O'Donovan, ed. (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1908), p. 213.
"Let the *Reader* diligently observe his steps, and look to his own, that he may discover the subtleties of this serpent; and let him not with too much security, thrust himself among these Thorns, Brambles and Dens, but warily walk around his Caverns, fearing lest he should secretly strike his mortal sting into his Heel: this hideous Monster being caught, will become benumbed and pine away by his own Venom." Ibid., p. 212.

³It has been debated whether or not Henry was the author of this work. O'Donovan affirms that he was, while Foxe and Burnet believed that he was not. Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop Fisher, Richard Pace and even Erasmus have been suggested as possible authors, or at least contributors to its creation. E. Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther: An Account of their Personal Relations (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), pp. 21-22.

⁴William A. Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants 1520-1535 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 19.

⁵Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, pp. 227-29. This is a reference to Luther's 1520 De Captivitate Babylonica in which he was concerned to remove the charge of heresy against those who maintained that the *verum panum verumque vinum* remain on the altar after consecration. WA 6:508.

⁶See the study of this relationship by Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, Henry VIII and the Lutherans. A Study in Anglo-Lutheran Relations from 1521 to 1547 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965). Gordon Rupp in his Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition (Mainly in the Reign of Henry VIII) (Cambridge: University Press, 1947), puts it like this: "That the King changed his attitude towards the German Reformers was entirely due to political considerations, and not to any kindling sympathy with evangelical doctrine." (p. 91) "And so, in 1534, Henry found it expedient to open negotiations with the German Protestants." (p. 92)

⁷C. W. Dugmore has argued that "No change in doctrine, however, was officially sanctioned by Convocation, Parliament or Crown during the reign of Henry VIII." The English Church, he claimed, remained orthodox with regard to the eucharist almost to the eve of Edward VI's accession, and Henry continued to believe in transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass until his death in 1547. The Mass and the English Reformers (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1958), pp. 106, 109-10. This is not entirely true, since, as we shall see, there were some

alterations in eucharistic doctrine even on official levels during this period. Nevertheless, Dugmore is correct in pointing out the very cautious and conservative attitude of English officialdom.

⁸Owen Chadwick, "The Sixteenth Century" in The English Church and the Continent, ed. C. R. Dodwell (London: The Faith Press, 1959), p. 62.

⁹Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰William A. Clebsch, "The Earliest Translations of Luther into English", The Harvard Theological Review, vol. 56 (January, 1963), p. 75.

¹¹Frederick J. Smithen, Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 44.

¹²Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 25-26.

¹³Ibid.; Rupp, Studies in the Making, pp. 18-19. For a 19th century attempt at tracing the Lutheran influences in England during the Henrician and Edwardian years, see H. E. Jacobs, The Lutheran Movement in England during the Reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and its Literary Monuments, rev. (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1916).

¹⁴"The Early Rise and Gradual Decline of Lutheranism in England (1520-1600)" in Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c 1500-c 1700, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp. 104-5

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 109-10.

¹⁶In 1527 Fisher produced a work entitled De Eucharistia contra Joan. Oecolampadium libri quinque; in 1546 Smith wrote The Assertion and Defence of the Sacrament of the Altar and in 1547, A Defence of the Sacrifice of the Masse. G. W. Locher, Zwingli's Thought. New Perspectives, vol. 25 in Studies in the History of Christian Thought (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), p. 350.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸A fourth printing in 1555 provided a new translation of the work. Ibid., pp. 348-49.

¹⁹This is not to deny that, as G. E. Rupp has put it: "Any due assessment of the causes and consequences of the English Reformation must take into account the survival of Lollardy. The new doctrines from the continent found a ready made and hungry audience among those whom John Foxe named 'The secret multitude of true professors', who prepared for the development of radical and sacramentarian doctrines in the reigns of Edward VI and Mary." Studies in the Making, p. 1.

²⁰Hall, The Early Rise and Gradual Decline, p. 103. Hall points out that, while Bale corresponded with the Lutherans, he also published the treatise on the eucharist by "the Zwinglian John Lambert". Ibid., ft.nt. 1.

²¹For a discussion of the period and the various treatises by Luther and Zwingli leading up to the Colloquy, see Herman Sasse's This is My Body. Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, rev. Australian ed. (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977), pp. 109-50.

²²Patterns of Reformation (London: Epworth Press, 1969), p. 25. It was Luther's challenge to Zwingli and Oecolampadius at Marburg to prove that Christ's body was not in the supper since a valid proof from Scripture that these words did not mean what they say. Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 186-87. (Sasse provides an English translation of the discussions at Marburg on pp. 180-220.) For the Latin texts, see WA 30 (Part 3), pp. 110-71. There apparently had been a meeting between Oecolampadius and Zwingli in 1524, and by November of that year it was known that Oecolampadius shared with Zwingli what Rupp calls a "spiritual interpretation of the eucharistic presence". Patterns of Reformation, p. 24.

²³Zwingli and Bullinger, ed. & trans. G. W. Bromiley, vol. 24 of The Library of Christian Classics (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1953), pp. 191, 222-30. For the German text, see CR 91: 797, 841-50. For Zwingli at Marburg, see, Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 193-94 and WA 30(3): 119-210. Rupp claims that the understanding of 'body' as meaning 'figure of the body' was Oecolampadius' contribution to the Swiss argument. Patterns of Reformation, p. 25.

²⁴For their comments at Marburg, see Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 187-92, 196-98 and WA 30(3): 113-18, 122-23. Both parties agreed that John 6 did not deal with the sacrament *per se*, only with spiritual eating by faith. In 1526, Zwingli had stated that it was because a "carnal eating" of Christ's flesh and blood had been introduced into the sacrament, that John 6 was important for interpreting the institution narrative. Zwingli and Bullinger, pp. 210-11; CR 91: 824-25.

²⁵Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 188-89; WA 30(3): 114-15; Zwingli and Bullinger, pp. 198-99, 211; CR 91: 808-9, 826. In a 1523 letter to Matthaeus Alber, Zwingli put it like this: "*Tunc editur corpus eius quum pro nobis creditur caesum.*" Quoted from Dom Gregory Dix, Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit. A Supplement to Mr. Timms (London: Dacre Press, 1948), pp. 15-16. (This is a reprint of the original found in The Church Quarterly Review, vols. 145 and 146 (March and June, 1948).)

²⁶Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, pp. 17-18.

²⁷Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 190-93; WA 30(3): 115-18. C. R. Richardson has described Zwingli's position as representing a "fundamental cleavage between spirit and body"; for Zwingli spirit and flesh contradict each other. Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist (Cranmer Dixit et Contradixit) (Evanston, Illinois: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1949), pp. 10-11.

²⁸Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 191, 204; WA 30(3): 116, 133. Richardson considers Luther's response to Oecolampadius' question "Since we have a spiritual eating, what need is there of a bodily one?" as his great weakness at Marburg. Zwingli and Cranmer, pp. 9-10.

²⁹ Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 201-203; WA 30(3): 129-31. Between 1523 and 1528 Luther developed the idea that the body of Christ is at the Father's right hand which is everywhere, what has been labelled his "ubiquity" doctrine. He did this in response to the question of how it is possible for Christ's body to be present on many altars on earth at the same time. Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 124-28. T.G.A. Hardt has argued that Luther distinguished between Christ's sacramental presence and his omnipresence (ubiquity), and that the former is not dependent on the latter. The teaching of Christ's omnipresence only served to refute Zwingli's denial of the possibility that Christ's body could be present in many places simultaneously. Venerabilis & (i.e. et) Adorabilis Eucharistia. En Studie in den lutherska NattvardslÄran under 1500 Talet (Uppsala, Teol.dr.Thesis at the University of Uppsala, 1971), pp. 75-89.

³⁰ Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 202-3; WA 30(3): 130-32; Zwingli and Bullinger, pp. 186, 212-16; CR 91: 791, 827-31. In 1527 Oecolampadius wrote to John Haner that the natural body of Christ is in one place, namely heaven; otherwise, it would not be a true body. Rupp, Patterns of Reformation, p. 27.

³¹ For Luther's statements at Marburg see Sasse, This is My Body, p. 203; WA 30(3): 131-32; Hardt has argued that Luther, following the Nominalist understanding of substances, understood the substance of Christ's body to mean the true and natural body of Christ, without any diluting of its corporeality. Luther, he points out, saw a parallel between Christ passing through the grave stone and Christ entering into the host, in both cases his body remaining as big and as thick as it was before. Om Altarets Sakrament, En Bok om den lutherska NattvardslÄran (Uppsala: Bokförlaget pro Veritate, 1973), pp. 28-29. See also Luther's 1527 "Dass diese Wort Christi 'Das ist mein Leib' noch fest stehen" WA 23: 185.

³² See his 1526 treatise in Zwingli and Bullinger, pp. 188, 190-91, 199 and CR 91: 793, 797, 809-10. See also, Sasse, This is My Body, p. 219; WA 30(3): 169-70. C. C. Richardson has summarized the consequences of Zwingli's position in this way: "The immediate result of this way of thinking is to deny the two bases upon which the medieval sacramental system rested: a) that the Christian can participate in the substance of Christ's body, and b) that the consecrated elements bear an essential relation to this substance.... Having destroyed the mystical view of substance, Zwingli can only approach eucharistic theology from two points of view: either there is a purely spiritual relation of faith, or else a crass eating of the literal body of Christ." Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist, pp. 11-12.

³³ For Luther and Zwingli at Marburg, see Sasse, This is My Body, pp. 194-200; WA 30(3): 120-28.

³⁴ Zwingli and Bullinger, p. 189; CR 91: 795-96. See also, Richardson, Cranmer and Zwingli on the Eucharist, p. 12.

³⁵ Locher, Zwingli's Thought, p. 222, esp. ft.nt. 355.

³⁶ See Luther's 1523 treatise, Von Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichnams Christi, WA 11: 431 ff., and Zwingli, De Vera et

false Religione Commentarius (1525), CR 90: 774-75 and *Amica Exegesis, id est: expositio eucharistiae negotii ad Martinum Lutherum* (1527), CR 92: 650 ff.

³⁷Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 137.

³⁸In his 1525 "Prologue" to the New Testament, for example, he took portions directly from Luther's "Preface" to the 1522 German New Testament, and in 1526 he published a periphrastic translation of Luther's introduction to the epistle of Romans. Ibid., pp. 144-45, 153.

³⁹The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith and Doct. Barnes, three Worthy Martyrs, and principall teachers of this Church of England, collected and compiled in one Tome together, beyng before scattered, & now in Print here exhibited to the Church, ed. John Foxe (London: John Daye, 1573), pp. 449-50. Later editions of this work can be found, but the 1573 edition was the one available at the time of writing.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 450. For further passages which indicate that Tyndale was well aware of both Roman and Lutheran teaching on the sacrament, see pp. 445-46, 450, 455.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 441.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 447-48.

⁴³Ibid., p. 451.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 452.

⁴⁵Zwingli's Thought, p. 354. Locher asserts that Tyndale rejected not only Luther's doctrine, but also Bucer's theory of a "spiritual real presence" as well. His 1536 Brief Declaration of the Sacraments was a private proposal for union with Luther on a Zwinglian, rather than a Bucerian, basis. Ibid., p. 354.

⁴⁶Foxe, Whole Workes, p. 440.

⁴⁷Tyndale, for example, seems to have attached a different significance to the recitation of the words of institution over the bread and wine than did Zwingli, and he may not have *equated* eating Christ's body with believing as did Zwingli. See, ibid., p. 447.

⁴⁸There is a question concerning the authorship of this work. See, W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, "Who Wrote 'The Supper of the Lord'", Harvard Theological Review 53 (January, 1960), pp. 75-91 and W. A. Clebsch, "More Evidence that George Joye Wrote the Souper of the Lorde", Harvard Theological Review 55 (January, 1962), pp. 63-66. Both of these scholars concluded that Joye, and not Tyndale, was the author of this treatise. For our purposes we shall assume that he was.

⁴⁹Foxe, The Whole Workes, p. 477.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 469.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., p. 467. For a similar statement by Zwingli, see, Zwingli and Bullinger, p. 211; CR 91: 826.

⁵³Foxe, The Whole Workes, pp. 459-60; 465-66.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 470-71.

⁵⁵"More Evidence that George Joye", p. 64. C. W. Dugmore has described the eucharistic doctrine of The Souper of the Lorde as "completely sacramentarian". The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 103.

⁵⁶Foxe, The Whole Workes, p. 108. Locher has claimed that this viewpoint was the same as that maintained by Zwingli in his dispute with the Lutherans. Zwingli's Thought, p. 350.

⁵⁷Foxe, The Whole Workes, pp. 126-29.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 161-62.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 166.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 110-11.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 152-53. To *bless* bread, according to Frith, is to make thanksgiving in faith. Ibid., pp. 152-53.

⁶³Ibid., p. 151.

⁶⁴"And we grannt that his body is present with the bread as it is with the Word, and with both it is verely received and eaten by faith." Ibid., p. 160.

⁶⁵See, Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 100-102, and Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 126. To balance this view it can be pointed out that Frith, like Zwingli, could also identify eating with believing: "This is the spirituall eating necessary for all that shall be saved for there is no man that cometh to God without this eating of Christ, that is believing in hym." Foxe, The Whole Workes, p. 119.

⁶⁶England's Earliest Protestants, pp. 117-27; Worship and Theology in England 1: 95. In a 1527 letter to John Haner, Oecolampadius professed belief in the presence of Christ's body in the bread (*adesse panis*) in that mode by which it is present in the word, through which the bread becomes a sacrament and a visible word. G. Rupp maintains that in this letter Oecolampadius taught "a true spiritual presence", not opposed to that of Zwingli, but to that of the Anabaptists. Patterns of Reformation, p. 27.

⁶⁷See, Clebsch, England's Earliest Protestants, p. 126; Rupp, Studies in the Making, pp. 38-46; Doernberg, Henry VIII and Luther, pp. 90-98. In these negotiations the King employed the services of Robert Barnes, who may have been one of the few Englishmen to hold Lutheran

eucharistic doctrine. See, e.g., article XVII of Barnes *Sententiae*, entitled, "*In Sacramento altaris est verum Corpus Christi*" in *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (Basil, 1535), pp. 391-94. Dugmore, in his attempt to minimize dependence of English sacramental theology on the continent, describes Barnes' eucharistic doctrine as "anti-papal" rather than Lutheran. *The Mass and the English Reformers*, pp. 95-96. Marcus L. Loane, on the other hand, unhesitatingly described Barnes as a Lutheran with regard to the sacrament. *Pioneers of the Reformation in England* (London: The Church Book Room Press), p. 72.

⁶⁸James H. Pragman, "The Augsburg Confession in the English Reformation: Richard Taverner's Contribution", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11: 3 (June, 1980), p. 77.

⁶⁹*Studies in the Making*, p. 113.

⁷⁰*Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), p. 64.

⁷¹George Mentz, ed., *Die Wittenberger Artikel von 1536* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchh. Nachf., 1905), p. 48.

⁷²*Studies in the Making*, pp. 112-13. Other scholars have seen things differently. A. G. Dickens, for example, has argued that the "Ten Articles" ought not to be seen so much as a conciliatory approach toward the "Wittenberg Articles" as an example of the English talent for concocting ambiguous and flexible statements. *The English Reformation* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1964), p. 244. Dugmore rejected the idea that the doctrine of the eucharist contained in the 1536, 1537 and 1538 English documents is anything other than the "papist-catholic doctrine". Although he admitted that the eucharist article of the "Thirteen Articles" is similar to that of the *Augustana* and the "Wittenberg Articles", he claimed that "once again we must note that the English were no more committed by it to consubstantiation than were the Germans to transubstantiation". *The Mass and the English Reformers*, pp. 107-108.

⁷³Charles Hardwick, ed., *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 3rd. ed., rev. by Francis Procter (London: George Bell & Sons, 1876), p. 249. These articles had the authority of Parliament and Convocation. Rupp, *Studies in the Making*, p. 175.

⁷⁴Charles Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith put forth by Authority during the Reign of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1825), pp. 100-101. The "Bishops' Book" was composed by a committee of all the bishops and some other divines. Although issued without royal licence, the King ordered the book, or parts of it, to be read in every parish church on Sundays and festivals during the three years following its publication. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, p. 107.

⁷⁵Hardwick, *A History of the Articles*, p. 266. These articles were agreed upon by certain Lutheran divines who had come to England and certain English divines, which included Cranmer, Tunstall and Stokesley. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, pp. 107-108.

⁷⁶These three articles, as well as the 1536 "Wittenberg Articles",

used the term "*exhiberi*", "to exhibit", in their description of the eucharistic presence. This word had already been used by Martin Bucer, the great mediating theologian of Strasbourg, who in his 1530 *Propositiones Novem de Sacra Eucharistia* affirmed that the very body and blood of Christ are "exhibited" by the eucharistic symbols (prop. 3). *Scripta Anglicana Fere Omnia* (Basil: Petri Pernae Officina, 1577), p. 611; E. C. Messenger, *The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936), 1: 162. In the 1536 "Wittenberg Concord", an unsuccessful attempt to unite the Lutherans and Swiss, and endorsed by Bucer, Luther and Melancthon, among others, it was also employed: "*Itaque sentiunt et docent, cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus Christi et sanguinem.*" CR 3: 75. Two years after the "Thirteen Articles", Melancthon used the term in his famous 1540 *Variata* edition of the *Augustana*: "*De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi, vescentibus in Coena Domini.*" MWA 6: 19. In the 1543 "King's Book", which reaffirmed transubstantiation, the word was also used. Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 262-63, 265. We shall later see the important place it occupied in the expression of Protestant eucharistic theology. Its wide use, however, even by Lutherans and Romanists, shows that the term *per se* did not indicate any particular kind of eucharistic theology.

⁷⁷ G. R. Elton, ed., *The Tudor Constitutions, Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), p. 391.

⁷⁸ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith*, pp. 262-63, 265.

⁷⁹ *Church and People 1450-1660: The Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1976), p. 81.

⁸⁰ "The Sixteenth Century" in *The English Church and the Continent*, ed., C. R. Dodwell (London: The Faith Press, 1959), p. 62.

⁸¹ Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, 2nd. ed., (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 117.

⁸² *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949), p. 28.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, pp. 126-27.

⁸⁴ Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, p. 118; Cremeans, *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought*, p. 28; Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers*, p. 127.

⁸⁵ Cremeans, *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought*, p. 29.

⁸⁶ The work is entitled *A Faythfull and moost Godly treatyse concerning the Moost Sacred Sacrament of the blessed body and bloude of our Savioure Chryst* (London?). In 1552 Calvin's *Le Catechisme de Genève* seems to have been printed in London. See, A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1926), p. 895.

⁸⁷The tendency to downplay the influence of continental Protestant sacramental theology on the English reformers is found throughout Dugmore's The Mass and the English Reformers. See his expressed aim on p. vii of the "Preface". On the other hand, many scholars have, in varying degrees, maintained such influence. See Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice, pp. 116-26; Owen Chadwick, "The Sixteenth Century" in The English Church and the Continent, pp. 60-61; Peter Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist. An Essay in Historical Development (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1965), p. xvii; both C. H. Smyth's Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI and J. F. Smithen's Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1927) throughout argue for an interaction and influence of continental protestantism in English theology.

⁸⁸Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 63. For a text of the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, see H. A. Niemeyer, ed., *Collectio Confessum in Ecclesiis Reformatis* (Lipsiae: Iulii Klinkhardt, 1840), pp. 760-61. For an English translation, see A. C. Cochrane, ed., Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966), pp. 75-76. The *Confessio Tetrapolitana* explicitly denied that only bread and wine are given in the eucharist, and affirmed that Christ gives His "true body" and "true blood" to the souls of those who receive the sacrament according to His institution. It was the presentation of the *Tetrapolitana* to the Imperial Chancellor which, according to C. H. Smyth, marked "the emergence of Suvermerianism as an independent doctrine, and of Strasbourg as the focus of a centre party of Protestantism, the party of compromise." Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, p. 150.

⁸⁹As Darwell Stone has pointed out, Bucer probably went as far as possible in the Lutheran direction in order to achieve this paper and ink unity. A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2 vols., (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), 2: 47. Sasse concluded that the concord was self-deception on both sides. This is My Body, pp. 251-52. For the Latin text of the "Wittenberg Concord", see CR 3: 75; for an English translation, D. F. Wright, trans. & ed., Common Places of Martin Bucer (Appleford: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972), pp. 362-63.

⁹⁰Bucer was able to sign the "Wittenberg Concord", which declared that the *indignorum* receive Christ's body, only through a mental reservation which made a distinction between the *indignorum* (the unworthy) who approach the supper in faith that they mean to receive the sacraments as Christ instituted them, and the *impiorum* (the godless), who have no faith at all. In making this distinction, Bucer was able to sign the concord and later deny that Christ's body is so united to the bread that whoever eats the bread eats the body of Christ. Sasse, This is My Body, p. 251; Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 64, ft. nt. 1; Wright, Common Places of Martin Bucer, pp. 369-70; Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 666-67 (*Articuli, Sive Formula Praemissae Concordiae cum Explicatione D. M. Bucerii Interposita*).

⁹¹For Bucer's 1530 articles on the eucharist and an important 1533 letter in which he describes the exhibition of Christ's body and blood as "spiritual" and "heavenly", see *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 611-12; Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, pp. 44-46; Messenger, The Reformation 1: 162-63. As Brooks points out, "For Bucer the sacramental signs are by

no means empty, but rather abundantly meaningful in bringing the believer into vital contact with the true body and blood of Christ." Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 65. Stone describes Bucer's theory this way: "... the communicants receive in the sacrament only bread and wine; but that their faith, when they receive the elements, uplifts them to a real spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ in heaven." The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 44. cf. with Calvin's Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia, which Bucer signed. CR 37: 712. C. H. Smyth has attached the label "Suvermerian" to Bucer's teaching (Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI, p. 155), while Dix called it "receptionism" (Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 22). For a history of the development of Bucer's eucharistic theology, see, Ian Hazlett, The Development of Martin Bucer's Thinking on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Its Historical and Theological Context 1523-1534 (Inaugural-Dissertation, University of Münster, 1975).

⁹² See Brooks' discussion. Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 64.

⁹³ It seems that Sasse, despite the polemical character of his argument, is correct in pointing to the very essential difference between Bucer and the Lutherans. Despite Bucer's realistic language, he still considered "the true body of Christ" to be "in heaven and not here". This is My Body, pp. 248-52.

⁹⁴ Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 50.

⁹⁵ Harold Smith, "The Reformation of Doctrine. Continental and English Reformers" in The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion, ed. A. J. MacDonald (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1930), p. 160. W. Nijenhuis has argued that Calvin subscribed not only to the 1540 *Variata*, but to the 1530 *Augustana* as well. See, "Calvin and the Augsburg Confession" in Ecclesia Reformata. Studies on the Reformation (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 97-114.

⁹⁶ MacDonald, The Evangelical Doctrine, p. 160.

⁹⁷ Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 67; CR 29: 118-21. (1536 Institutio Religionis Christianae.)

⁹⁸ CR 29: 121-23; see also, CR 33: 451-52 (1541 Petit Traicté de la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ).

⁹⁹ CR 33: 438-40 (Petit Traicté); for his use of "exhiberi". see. e.g., the 1536 Institutio, CR 29: 119-20.

¹⁰⁰ CR 33: 438-40, 460; CR 37: 712 (1537 Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia).

¹⁰¹ CR 33: 452 (Petit Traicté).

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 456-57.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 455.

¹⁰⁴ CR 33: 460 (Petit Traicté); CR 37: 712 (Confessio Fidei de Eucharistia).

¹⁰⁵Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 67. As Brooks notes (p. 67, ft.nt. 4), Bucer signed Calvin's 1537 *Confessio*. He embraced it as correct doctrine, denying a local or ubiquitous presence of Christ in the eucharist, affirming that he has a true and finite body which remains in heavenly glory, and teaching that Christ presents Himself in the supper to the communicants as they by faith are exalted to heaven, the visible signs exhibiting the communion of His body and blood. CR 37: 712.

¹⁰⁶CR 35: 735-44. See also, H. Smith in MacDonald, The Evangelical Doctrine, pp. 177-78 and Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 161-62. F. Clark has pointed out that Bucer, Martyr and other visiting divines in England approved this *Consensus*. "Only Luther's doctrine of 'consubstantiation' (sic) remained without honour in England", Clark writes. Eucharistic Sacrifice, p. 119.

¹⁰⁷For two scholars who defend Zwingli against this charge of bare memorialism, see, H. Smith in MacDonald, The Evangelical Doctrine, pp. 164-70, and G. W. Locher, Zwingli's Thought, pp. 314-20.

¹⁰⁸Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 69.

¹⁰⁹Dugmore points to the effect of the 1549 agreement when he writes, "Moreover, it might be well to enquire at this point, what we mean by Zwinglianism of, say, 1524." The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 161. Brooks attaches a crucial importance to the 1549 accord: "By the middle of the century, Zwinglianism is an outmoded and unhistorical term (although, of course, the 'Reformed' school undoubtedly owed much to the clarity of Zwingli's theology), and its continued use by prominent scholars is surely indicative of a failure to appreciate the rapid development of eucharistic doctrine by the many exponents of the 'True' Presence." Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 70.

¹¹⁰This is, of course, not to deny that Ridley had already earlier defended his eucharistic doctrine against the old faith. He actively took part, for example, in the famous 1548 Parliamentary debate on the eucharist. See J. T. Tomlinson, The Great Parliamentary Debate in 1548 on the Lord's Supper, 2nd. ed. (London: J. F. Shaw & Co., 1915).

¹¹¹The Works of Nicholas Ridley, ed., Henry Christmas, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1843), p. 11.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 213-15, 222. Because of Christ's human nature and manhood, his body cannot simultaneously be present both in heaven and on earth. Ibid., pp. 178, 200, 215, 221.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 249, 238. [Emphasis is mine.]

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 274. [Emphasis is mine.] Other ways in which he expressed this idea were in terms of the "grace and virtue of his very nature", "his spiritual flesh but not that which was crucified", and the "life and grace of his body" (Oxford Disputations). Ibid., pp. 201-202. In his A Brief Declaration, Ridley used his well-known sun-beams analogy: Just as the sun which "in substance never moves out of

the heavens" is present here on earth through its "beams, light and natural influence", so Christ remains in heaven and yet is present on earth through the "beams" of His word and sacraments. Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp. 12, 37.

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 274-75.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 274.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 241 (Oxford Disputations).

¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 274-75.

¹²¹Ibid., pp. 199, 247-48.

¹²²Ibid., p. 222.

¹²³Ibid., p. 12. For his approval of eucharistic adoration in the sense of reverence at the sacrament, see ibid., p. 236 (Oxford Disputations). Christ can be said to be worshipped in the sacrament like He can be said to be worshipped in the Scriptures, but without any local inclusion in either. Ibid., p. 235.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 274.

¹²⁵The "natural body and blood" are in the sacrament "by spirit and grace" because, Ridley argues, "that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine receiveth effectually Christ's body and drinketh His blood, (*that is, he is made effectually partaker of His passion*)..." Ibid. [Emphasis is mine.]

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 276.

¹²⁷Messenger claimed that Ridley's eucharistic doctrine is "in language, at any rate, the highest set forth by the Anglican Reformers"; nevertheless, it is one of the "presence of the grace of Christ". The Reformation, 2: 100, 102. Stone concluded that Ridley rejected not only a 'carnal' notion of Christ's presence, "but the belief that the consecrated Sacrament is by the power of God made to be the risen and ascended and glorified body and blood of our Lord". Rather, for him it was a "presence of power and grace proceeding from the body, not a presence of the body itself". The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 195. H. Smith asserted that Ridley "strained his language to the utmost in order, if possible, to satisfy the realist theory of his judges", but that the content of the sacrament for him was limited to the "virtue, or grace or efficacy of the body of Christ which remains in heaven". MacDonald, The Evangelical Doctrine, p. 112. Dugmore hailed Ridley as a "Reformed Catholic" and "enemy of all Zwinglians and Sacramentarians". The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 150. Locher considered that "Ridley stands alongside Bucer" and saw his analogy of the sun and beams as "Bucerian". Zwingli's Thought, pp. 362-63. C. H. Smith identified Ridley's doctrine as "Suvermerianism" which he held in common with the ninth-century Carolingian monk Ratramnus. Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI, pp. 61-62. Whether or not Ridley learned his doctrine of the eucharist from Ratramnus, as he claimed (Works of Ridley, p. 206

(Oxford Disputations)), is a debatable point. For an excellent description of Ratramnus' teaching, see J. N. Bakhuizen Van den Brink, "Ratramn's Eucharistic Doctrine and its Influence in Sixteenth-Century England", pp. 54-77 in vol. 2 of Studies in Church History, ed. G. J. Cuming (London: Nelson, 1964). Van den Brink had doubts about Ridley's dependence on Ratramnus (p. 73), while Dix was even less convinced of it. Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 33.

¹²⁸Early Writings of John Hooper, ed. Samuel Carr, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1843), pp. 117-18, 124, (An Answer to the Bishop of Winchester's Book, 1547), and p. 63 (A Declaration of Christ and His Office, 1547). Both these treatises were written during Hooper's years in Zurich.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 113. (An Answer); pp. 65-70 (A Declaration).

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 164-66. (An Answer.)

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 190-91. (An Answer.)

¹³²Ibid., p. 69. (A Declaration.)

¹³³Ibid., p. 191. (An Answer); see also, p. 62 (A Declaration) where he affirms a manducation of Christ's body "in faith and spirit". In his "Sixth Sermon upon Jonas" during Lent 1550, Hooper said, "He that thus prepareth himself doth eat worthily the body of Christ; and he that doth not thus prepare himself, eateth nothing but the sacrament to his everlasting damnation". Ibid., p. 535.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 209. (An Answer.) Hooper's words should not be understood as being only a battle over the mode of Christ's real, substantial body in a Lutheran or Roman sense, since he explicitly rejected such a presence even as *invisibiliter* and *modo coelesti*. Ibid., pp. 157-58.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 530. ("Sixth Sermon upon Jonas.") "And the minister gives what is in his power, namely, the bread and wine, and not the body of Christ; nor is it exhibited by the minister, and eaten by the communicant, otherwise than in the word preached, read or meditated upon. And to eat the body of Christ is nothing else than to believe, as he himself teaches in the sixth of John. It is necessary therefore to bring Christ to the sacraments by faith and not to look for him there." (1: 548) Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, ed. Hastings Robinson, 2 vols., Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1846-47) 1: 47 (Letter xxv to Henry Bullinger); Dix, Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 18.

¹³⁶Early Writings, pp. 126-27; for a good summary of Hooper's understanding of the spiritual manducation of Christ's body, see his 1550 A Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith in Later Writings of Bishop Hooper, ed., Charles Nevins, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1852), pp. 49-50.

¹³⁷C. H. Smyth, for example, wrote that "Hooper was perfectly sincere: he was determined that Zwinglianism should be forced upon the Church of England by any means and at any price.... Hooper would have

reduced its doctrine to a slavish imitation of the theology of Zurich". Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, p. 73. See also pp. 97-99 for a discussion of Hooper's time in Zurich. Cremeans has described Hooper as a "confirmed Zwinglian". The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England, p. 31. Locher concluded that Hooper's A Declaration "owes a great deal to Zwingli". Zwingli's Thought, p. 364. Dix labelled him a "central Zwinglian". Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 23.

¹³⁸C. H. Smyth has linked Hooper with the 1549 *Consensus*: "During his residence in Zurich his theological opinions, already coloured with a Zwinglian complexion, had been cast in the iron mould of Tigurine orthodoxy". Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, p. 100.

¹³⁹On the question of whether Cranmer ever went through a Lutheran stage, scholars such as C. H. Smyth (Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI, pp. 57-59) and Smithen (Continental Protestantism, pp. 78-80) answered in the negative. On the other hand, W. Nijenhuis in his "Traces of a Lutheran Eucharistic Doctrine in Thomas Cranmer" in Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 1-22, and Brooks in Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine have argued quite convincingly for such a phase.

¹⁴⁰Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Martyr, 1556, Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ed., John E. Cox, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1844), p. 101. (An Answer unto a Crafty and Sophistical Cavillation, Devised by Stephen Gardiner, 1551.) See also, Archbishop Cranmer on the True and Catholic Doctrine and Use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ed., Charles H. H. Wright, Protestant Reformation Society (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis Ltd., 1928), p. 97 (Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament, 1550). See Brooks' discussion on pp. 98-99 of Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, and Cyril C. Richardson, "Cranmer and the Analysis of Eucharistic Doctrine", The Journal of Theological Studies, New Series vol. 16, part 2 (October, 1965), p. 426.

¹⁴¹See, e.g., Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 104-111 (Defence) and Writings and Disputations, p. 102.

¹⁴²Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 25, 33, 130-31, 199-220 (Defence); see also Writings and Disputations, p. 70.

¹⁴³Writings and Disputations, p. 337 (Answer); see also, Archbishop Cranmer, p. 36 (Defence); Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 90.

¹⁴⁴Writings and Disputations, pp. 235-36, 317 (Answer). Dix argued quite persuasively that in Cranmer's teaching spiritual eating was the same as believing in the Passion. Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, pp. 19-20. Yet, as Brooks has pointed out, Cranmer stressed that in the eucharist feeding on Christ is increased. Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, pp. 95-96.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 94, 96-97. Richardson disagrees with Brooks on this point. Cranmer and Eucharistic Doctrine, p. 427. cf. Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 30, 98-101 (Defence) and Writings and Disputations, p. 225 (Answer).

¹⁴⁶Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 94. Consequently, for Cranmer the receiving of Christ and his benefits is not limited to the sacrament. Ibid., pp. 94-95; Writings and Disputations, p. 204.

¹⁴⁷Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 181-82 (Defence); for Brooks' discussion, see Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 92.

¹⁴⁸"The English Usage of Eucharistic Consecration 1548-1662-I", Theology No. 444, Vol. LX (June, 1957), p. 235.

¹⁴⁹Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 224-29 (Defence).

¹⁵⁰Writings and Disputations, p. 236 (Answer).

¹⁵¹Stone identified Cranmer's teaching as "virtualism", (The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 128), a view reasserted by Davies (Worship and Theology in England, 1: 183-85), who linked it with Calvin. Dix identified it with that of Zwingli. The Shape of the Liturgy (London: Dacre Press, 1945), p. 656. G. B. Timms maintained that Cranmer was a 'dynamic receptunist' with close affinities to Calvin and Bucer. Dixit Cranmer. A Reply to Dom Gregory, Alcuin Club Papers (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1946), pp. 24-25 (originally published in Church Quarterly Review, cxiii: 217 ff. and cxiv: 33 ff.). C. C. Richardson took up Dix's position with certain modifications. Zwingli and Cranmer on the Eucharist, p. 48. Dugmore argued that Cranmer was a good "Reformed Catholic" standing in the realist-symbolist tradition of eucharistic doctrine. The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 200. For a rebuttal of Dugmore, see, Clark's Eucharistic Sacrifice, p. 164.

¹⁵²Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 55.

¹⁵³Davies has argued that in certain ways Cranmer's doctrine was closer to that of Calvin than of Zwingli, but that one of the obstacles in identifying his teaching as unequivocally Calvinistic is Calvin's use of "substantial language", while Cranmer, with Zwingli, drew a "strict line between spirit and substance". Worship and Theology in England 1: 184. See also, C. C. Richardson, "Cranmer and the Analysis of Eucharistic Doctrine", The Journal of Theological Studies, New Series, vol. xvi, part 2 (October, 1965), p. 421.

¹⁵⁴Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 127.

¹⁵⁵Davies points out that Bishop Hooper considered the Book as "very defective... and in some respects indeed manifestly impious", the Catholic Princess Mary would not allow its use in her chapel, yet Stephen Gardiner found it to be compatible with a Catholic interpretation. Worship and Theology in England, 1: 182. While Martin Bucer criticized the book in his Censura, he, nevertheless, regarded it as faithful to the word of God. Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, ed., E. C. Whitaker (Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon for the Alcuin Club, 1974), p. 13, (this book contains both the Latin and English texts); C. Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), p. 57. Brooks states that Cranmer himself considered the book to express his own understanding of "the main principles of Reformed eucharistic doctrine". Thomas Cranmer's

Doctrine, pp. 107-108. Dix considered that the rite was "compatible with, and for the most part clearly expressed" Cranmer's own "Zwinglian doctrine", although he admitted certain difficulties in a completely "Zwinglian" interpretation. The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 657. Davies argued that it is a "more conservative or mediating Protestant doctrine of the eucharist that was expressed clearly or darkly in the Communion order of the first Prayer Book". Worship and Theology in England, 1: 187. Dugmore claimed the book as an example of reformed Catholic rather than papist Catholic doctrine. The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 135. R. Bainton considered parts of the rite as favouring Lutheran teaching. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963), pp. 201-202.

¹⁵⁶For a discussion of and references to scholars who have so suggested, see Davies, Worship and Theology in England, pp. 181-86.

¹⁵⁷The Two Liturgies, A.D. 1549, and A.D. 1552: with Other Documents Set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI, ed., Joseph Ketley, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1844), p. 88. Ratcliff argued that while the rite calls for the Word and Spirit as instruments of consecration, this merely continued the "well-known Western doctrine which had descended to the sixteenth century from Paschasius Radlertus by way of Gratian Decretum". "Usage of Eucharistic Consecration-I", pp. 232-33. Davies, however, suggested that this consecration combined the Eastern Orthodox liturgical tradition (the Spirit as agent of consecration) with the Western understanding (the Word as agent). Worship and Theology in England, p. 189.

¹⁵⁸The Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, p. 92.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁶²An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholique Fayth, Touchyng the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Aulter with a Computation of a booke written against the Same (London? , 1551), pp. 21 and 28.

¹⁶³Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 25, 41, 53-55 (Censura); Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation, pp. 75-78.

¹⁶⁴See, Davies, Worship and Theology in England 1: 189 and Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist 2: 138-39.

¹⁶⁵One could still agree with Smyth's statement that the Book is characterized by "conservatism and moderation" and was "designed to open the door to the New Learning without closing it to the Old". Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, p. 279. See Ratcliff's comments in "Usage of Eucharistic Consecration-I", pp. 235-36.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 283. For a discussion of the "Black Rubric", see Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 142 and Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 171-72.

^{168b}The Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, p. 274.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 278-79. cf. p. 92. Bucer approved this Prayer as opposing any Christ-absent conception of the eucharist. Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation, p. 79; Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, p. 65 (*Censura*).

¹⁷⁰Stone considered the book as having been designed to teach "some form of receptionist, or even virtualist doctrine, such as that now held by Cranmer". The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 140. F. Procter understood the new rite as fostering and facilitating the teaching that consecration refers to persons rather than to elements, and that the presence of Christ is not in the sacrament, but only in the heart of the believer. A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, rev. by W. H. Frere (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1901), pp. 82-83. It was "full Zwinglian doctrine" which Dix saw in the 1552 Prayer Book. The Shape of the Liturgy, p. 659. Davies, while admitting that every point in the 1549 rite which Gardiner detected as residual Catholicism was eliminated in the 1552 service, understood its eucharistic doctrine was not "low Zwingli but high Calvin". Worship and Theology in England, 1: 201, 209. Brooks claimed that the 1552 service "was so recast that only the Cranmerian viewpoint could be understood, everything of an equivocal nature being carefully changed". Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 76.

¹⁷¹Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 330. Cranmer took full responsibility for these Articles. Dix, Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 46.

¹⁷²Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 330. Dix certainly went too far in identifying the eucharistic doctrine of these Articles as "the perfect summary of the Zwinglian belief in the 'Real Absence'". Dixit Cranmer et Non Timuit, p. 47. Stone was closer to the truth when he claimed that the Articles reject not only transubstantiation but also "extreme Zwinglianism". The Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 145.

¹⁷³The Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, p. 517. John Poynt might have been the author of the Short Catechism. Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 146.

¹⁷⁴K. S. Latourette, A History of Christianity, 2 vols. rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row Pub., 1975), 2: 808-809.

¹⁷⁵The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 208; see also, Joseph N. Tylenda, "The Calvin-Westphal Exchange: The Genesis of Calvin's Treatises Against Westphal", Calvin Theological Journal 9 (November, 1974), p. 186, and Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 36.

¹⁷⁶Smithen, Continental Protestantism, p. 27; Christiana H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), pp. 32, 44-45. W. M.

Southgate has suggested that when the exiles returned to England they were in no sense unified, and that, while Calvin's influence was probably the strongest, it was only one of a number of influences.

"The Marian Exiles and the Influence of John Calvin", History. The Quarterly Journal of the Historical Association, New Series 27 (June-September, 1942), pp. 148-50. See also, Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 36.

¹⁷⁷ Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 36.

¹⁷⁸ John M. Krumm, "Continental Protestantism and Elizabethan Anglicanism (1570-1595) in Reformation Studies. Essays in Honor of R. H. Bainton, ed., F. H. Littell (Richmond: John Know Press, 1962), p. 129. As Smithen has pointed out, the Parker Society volumes give some idea of the extent of the correspondence carried on between the English and continental Reformers. Continental Protestantism, pp. 64-65.

¹⁷⁹ The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ See, A Short-Title Catalogue, pp. 95-96. Interestingly, while thirty eight editions of Luther's writings were published between 1475 and 1640 (Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 65), it has been pointed out by B. Hall that Luther's sacramental theology was avoided in English translations of his works, and that during the Elizabethan years translations were from his biblical expositions and even these were modified by the omission of passages where his sacramental teaching appears. "The Early Rise and Gradual Decline", pp. 126-27.

¹⁸¹ F. J. Smithen, Continental Protestantism, p. 48. For the Convocation decree, see, Synodalia. A Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons and Proceedings of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury, from the Year 1547 to the Year 1717, 2 vols., ed., E. Cardwell (Oxford: University Press, 1842), 2: 562. For Bullinger's discussion of eucharistic doctrine in the Decades see The Decades of Henry Bullinger, trans., H.I., ed., Thomas Harding, Parker Society, 5 parts in 4 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1849), 4: 422-65. This is a reprint of the 1587 edition.

¹⁸² Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 82; Philip Schaff, A History of the Creeds of Christendom, 3 vols., 2nd. ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1878) 1: 603.

¹⁸³ The Reformation in England, pp. 69-70. These letters are found in The Zurich Letters, 2 vols., ed. Hastings Robinson, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1845-1852), 1: 21,100. See also, Smithen, Continental Protestantism and the English Reformation, p. 34.

¹⁸⁴ The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, 2 vols., ed., John Ayre, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1845-1847) 1: 448, 481-505 (A Replie unto M. Hardings, 1565); 1: 20-21 (his 1560 sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross); An Apology of the Church of England, ed., J. E. Booty (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 33 (the original Latin was published in 1562, and an English translation in 1564).

- 185 Works of John Jewel, 1: 486 (A Replie).
- 186 An Apology, p. 35; see also, Works of John Jewel, 1: 514-16, 551-52 (A Replie).
- 187 An Apology, p. 33; see also, Works of John Jewel, 2: 1,110.
- 188 Works of John Jewel, 1: 490 (A Replie).
- 189 Ibid., 3: 487 (The Defence of the Apology, 1567). John E. Booty, John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England (London: SPCK, 1963), p. 170.
- 190 An Apology, p. 31; see also, Works of John Jewel, 1: 449 (A Replie).
- 191 An Apology, pp. 31-32; Works of John Jewel, 1: 448, 475-76 (A Replie); 2: 1,124 (A Treatise of the Sacraments, 1583).
- 192 Works of John Jewel, 2: 1,117 (A Treatise).
- 193 Ibid., 2: 1,121.
- 194 Ibid.
- 195 Ibid., 1: 12 (sermon at St. Paul's Cross). For more on his opposition to the elevation and eucharistic adoration, see, pp. 507-52.
- 196 Ibid., 1: 123; while Jewel would not argue about exactly which words constitute the consecration (the East-West debate), he insisted that consecration was to be heard by the people and not merely "whispered" to bread; otherwise the priest would consecrate only for himself and not for others. Ibid., 1: 123-24; 2: 697-707. See also, Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 229-30; Booty, John Jewel, p. 167.
- 197 "The English Usage of Eucharistic Consecration, 1548-1662-II", Theology No. 445, vol. LX (July, 1957), pp. 274-75.
- 198 See, pp. 20-21.
- 199 Stone regarded his teaching as closely resembling that of Bucer. The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 225. Dugmore described his teaching as "non-papist Catholic doctrine" with "an admixture of moderate Calvinism of the Tigurine type", which he picked up in his contacts with the continental Protestants. The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 231. Booty regarded Jewel as tending toward "a 'middle position', as did Ratramnus, Berengar, Ridley and Cranmer, and we might add Bucer and Martyr", and suggested that Martyr had the greatest opportunity to influence him. John Jewel, pp. 172-74. Booty has pointed out that Jewel appealed to Ratramnus as having taught the true doctrine of Christ's presence. Ibid., p. 163.
- 200 J. R. Parris, "Hooker's Doctrine of the Eucharist", Scottish Journal of Theology 16 (June, 1963), p. 151.

²⁰¹The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr. Richard Hooker, 3 vols., ed. John Keble, 7th ed. rev. by R. W. Church and F. Paget (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), 67: 2, 6. (Vol. 2 contains Book five. Citation here will be given according to chapter and section.)

²⁰²"Hooker's Doctrine of the Eucharist", p. 160; see also, pp. 158-59.

²⁰³Works of Hooker, 67: 12.

²⁰⁴Ibid., 67: 2.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 67: 6.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 57: 4 [emphasis is mine]. While Hooker also wrote, "this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold... what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to one which take them they are the body and blood of Christ" (ibid., 67: 12), Parris seems to be correct in asserting (against Stone's view that Hooker abstained from expressing his own opinion on whether the body was to be located in the bread or in the communicant, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 239) that "we must interpret these words to mean that *to us* the bread is more than bread". "Hooker's Doctrine of the Eucharist", p. 162. Against Dugmore's claim that Hooker "thought of the consecrated elements as actually imparting Christ, whole and entire" (The Mass and the English Reformers, p. 245), John S. Marshall has persuasively argued that if this were the case, Hooker would have understood the elements to be physical instruments, rather than moral instruments which function on the level of "persuasion and exhibition". Hooker and the Anglican Tradition (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963), pp. 142-45.

²⁰⁷Works of Hooker, 67: 11.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 67: 11.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 55: 6; see also, 55: 4, where Hooker denies that Christ's manhood is "present with all things", as is His divinity.

²¹⁰Ibid., 67: 6, 9.

²¹¹Ibid., 57: 4.

²¹²Ibid., 67: 1; see also, 58: 2.

²¹³Ibid., 67: 5.

²¹⁴Richard Hooker's Doctrine of the Eucharist As It is Found in the Fifth Book, "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" (Ph.D. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1936), pp. 74-87, 99.

²¹⁵Hooker and the Anglican Tradition, pp. 143-45.

²¹⁶Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland (London: SPCK, 1942), p. 19.

217 Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer, Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed., W. K. Clay, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1847), pp. 193-96.

218 G. J. Cuming, A History of Anglican Liturgy (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 213. If one is to accept Davies' statement that the eucharistic rite of 1559 was "an attempt at comprehension and inclusion of the differing viewpoints" (Worship and Theology 1: 211), then surely this applies to variations within the boundaries of the 'true' presence doctrine, and not to teachings such as transubstantiation and the Lutheran 'real' presence.

219 "Atque adeo rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictiones est communicatio sanguinis Christi." (1563) "Insomuch that to suche as ryghtlie, worthyly and with fayth receave the same, the bread whiche we breake is a parttakyng of the body of Christe, and likewise the cuppe of blessing is a parttakyng of the blood of Christe." (1571) Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 329.

220 "Corpus Christi datur, accipitur, et manducatur in coena, tantum coelesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo Corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in coena, fides est." (1563) "The body of Christ is geven, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spirituall manner: And the meane whereby the body is received and eaten in the Supper, is fayth." (1571) Ibid., p. 331.

221 Martin Bucer, for example, had in 1533 described the exhibition of Christ's body as "*coelestem & spiritualement*." Scripta Anglicana, p. 612; Messenger, The Reformation, 1: 163.

222 See, Messenger, The Reformation, 2: 285-88 and Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 221-23. There is a debate as to whether Cheyney should be called a Lutheran. B. Hall, for example, has described Cheyney as a "conservative Henrician" rather than a Lutheran. "The Early Rise and Gradual Decline", pp. 130-31. What one thinks of Cheyney's own positive eucharistic view, however, is unimportant. What is important is his objection to the article.

223 In 1566 Laurence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson complained to Bullinger that the 1563 Articles set forth eucharistic doctrine in "mutilated and imperfect" form compared to the Edwardian Articles which "expressly oppugned and took away the real presence". Zurich Letters, 1: 165. Stone would see in their statement a confirmation "as to the significance attached to the change [in the Elizabethan Articles] at the time". The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 209-10. Whatever significance the changes in 1563 had, they certainly were not great enough to satisfy a man like Bishop Cheyney. The statement by Humphrey and Sampson may reflect no more than the discomfort of "left-wing" Reformed divines that doctrine was not expressed as clearly with negatives as they would have liked it to be. Moreover, as Messenger has pointed out, in 1567 Bishops Grindal and Horne wrote to Bullinger assuring him that the doctrine of the "Black Rubric" was still "most diligently declared, published, and impressed upon the people". The Reformation, 2: 288; Zurich Letters, 1: 180.

224 Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 331.

225 Ibid. Messenger has pointed out that the Elizabethan article is even more forceful than the Edwardian article on this point, since the Edwardian article only said that the sacrament is "*not commanded*" by Christ's ordinance to be reserved, carried about, etc., while the Elizabethan articles read as follows: "*Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.*" (1563) "The Sacrament of the Lordes Supper was not by Christes ordinance reserved, carryed about, lyfted up, or worshipped." (1571) Ibid.; Messenger, The Reformation, p. 330.

226 Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 329; Messenger, The Reformation, 2: 284.

227 See, Messenger, The Reformation, 2: 290.

228 The 19th century edition is entitled, The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England, An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, ed., J.J.S. Perowne, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1856). The work also had editions in 1585 and 1607. Cremeans has noted that the work had the official sanction of the Church, but he cites no evidence. The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 79. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Rogers was chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, which may mean that the treatise had some kind of approval by the Archbishop.

229 Ibid., pp. 286-87. These statements are specifically directed against the Council of Trent and its Catechism, as Rogers' side notes indicate.

230 The Catholic Doctrine, p. 286.

231 Ibid., p. 287.

232 Ibid., p. 288.

233 Ibid.; for the eucharistic texts of these confessions, see, Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, pp. 95-97, 112-13, 120-21, 338, 385-86, 518-23.

234 The Catholic Doctrine, pp. 292-93.

235 Ibid., pp. 289, 293.

236 Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought, p. 76. Two Latin editions appeared in 1570, with reprints being made in 1571, 1574 and 1576. An English translation of the second 1570 edition by Thomas Norton was made in the same year. A Catechism Written in Latin by Alexander Norwell, Dean of St. Paul's, together with the Same into English by Thomas Norton, ed., G. E. Corrie, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1853), pp. vii, ix.

237 Ibid., pp. 213-14; Latin text, p. 91. "... so, when we rightly receive the Lord's Supper, with the very divine nourishment of his body and blood, most full of health and immortality, given to us by

the work of the Holy Ghost, and received of us by faith, as the mouth of our soul, we are continually fed and sustained to eternal life, growing together in them both unto one body with Christ." Ibid., p. 214; Latin text, p. 93.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 216; Latin text, p. 93.

²⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 214-15; Latin text, p. 92.

²⁴¹Corrie states that the catechisms of Poinet and Calvin "are perhaps those with which Norwell's is most frequently and verbally coincident". Ibid., p. vii.

²⁴²cf. Calvin's The Catechisme or Manner to Teache Childrene the Christian Religion (Geneva, 1556), pp. 129, 139-42, 144-46.

²⁴³There did, it seems, exist a lingering Lutheran element throughout the century even after its early decline, as is witnessed by Bishop Cheyney, whom we have already noted. In addition, there was a mid-century 'real' presence tract which expressed eucharistic doctrine in a decidedly Lutheran way, teaching, for example, the presence of the "substance" of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, without recourse to transubstantiation. (This tract can be found in an appendix to Brooks' Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, pp. 112-28). It is not impossible or unreasonable, therefore, that Cheyney stood in this Lutheran minority strand of English eucharistic theology.

²⁴⁴To see this one need only look at the various Reformed confessions found in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum or Cochrane, Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century.

²⁴⁵Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini, 2nd. ed. (Lipsiae: Bernh. Tauchnitz, Jun., 1847), pp. 59-65; The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent, trans. J. Waterworth (London: C. Dolman, 1848), pp. 75-84. Obviously enough, Trent opposed Lutheran teaching as well.

²⁴⁶In a letter of 23 April 1538, Melancthon had already begun to place the presence of Christ in the use of the sacrament, not enclosed in, joined to, or mixed with the bread. CR 3: 514. (See also another 1538 letter. CR 3: 536.) Yet, it is questionable whether one should regard his mature teaching as consistently the 'true' presence doctrine held by divines such as Bucer, Calvin and Bullinger, as Brooks has suggested (Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, pp. 68-69), since as late as 1560, a few years before his death, he still referred to a corporeal presence in the sacrament (CR 9: 1,087), and at times still seemed to suggest a presence in the elements (CR 9: 1,087, 1,040). For these CR references and a discussion of Melancthon's teaching, see, E. D. Peters, The Origin and Meaning of the Axiom: "Nothing Has the Character of a Sacrament Outside of the Use" in Sixteenth-Century and Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Theology (Th.D. dissertation, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1968), pp. 29-104. The *Variata* text reads: "*De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi, vescentibus in Coena Domini.*" MWA 6: 19.

²⁴⁷For an account of these controversies, see, F. Bente, Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 102-103, 172-92.

²⁴⁸Ibid., p. 173. See, Die Bekenntnisschriften, pp. 796-803 (Art. VII of the *Epitome*) and pp. 970-1,016 (Art. VII of the *Solida Declaratis*).

²⁴⁹The philosophical basis of this may be what C. C. Richardson has called "popular Nominalism", "thinking of things as self-enclosed objects without further reflection" (which Richardson saw as characterizing Cranmer's way of thinking). "Cranmer and the Analysis", p. 422.

II: MYSTERIUM TREMENDUM

Among the Caroline divines one finds a certain hesitation in discussing the nature of eucharistic presence. What one might call "eucharistic apophaticism", or an understanding of the sacrament as "*mysterium tremendum*", was the double-edged weapon by which they both affirmed the *reality* of a sacramental presence, and yet acknowledged a certain agnosticism with regard to the nature of that presence.

One feature of this "apophaticism" was the repudiation, on the one hand, of empty symbolism, bare figurism, or what frequently has been labelled "Zwinglianism",¹ together with the affirmation, on the other hand, of a presence of Christ's body in the eucharist. In De Sacra Eucharistia,² for example, Saravia taught that the sacrament is not the remembrance of an absent Christ: *Praeteritae quidem nobis Mortis et Passionis celebratur memoria, sed non absentis Christi, Qui nobiscum est usque ad consummationem saeculi.*³ The real and true presence is to be believed by the faithful, he asserted: *Quod immotum inter fideles esse debet, tantum urgeo, nempe praesentiam realem et veram Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Coena, fidelibus credendam esse.*⁴

Similarly, Bishop Andrewes expressed belief in a eucharistic presence of Christ's body, both in his polemical and in his homiletical writings. In his 1605 Christmas sermon, for example, he described the eucharist as the meeting point for the incarnation of Christ and the deification of man - the flesh which Christ took is given back to man together with the Spirit in the sacrament:

He taking our flesh, and we receiving His Spirit;
by His flesh which He took of us receiving His
Spirit which He imparteth to us; that, as He by
ours became *consors humanae naturae*, so we by His
might become *consortes Divinae naturae*, 'partakers
of the Divine nature'. ... With this act then of

mutual 'taking', taking of His flesh [Eucharist]
 as He hath taken ours [incarnation], let us seal
 our duty to Him this day, for taking not 'Angels',
 but 'the seed of Abraham'.

In his 1610 treatise against Bellarmine, he wrote, *Praesentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram*⁶ Andrewes said in his 1615

Christmas sermon that, while the bread and wine which Melchizedek brought forward were not his body and blood, the bread and wine which Christ brings forward are His body and blood. Christ is both the one who feeds (*Qui pascet*) and that by which He feeds (*Quo pascet*).⁷

Several years later (1629), he responded to Cardinal du Perron's attack on King James I, and in so doing, explicitly denied that the Church of England followed the teaching of Zwingli. In order to avoid the understanding of *est* in the sense given it by the Church of Rome, the Swiss reformer accepted *significat* as the way of understanding the eucharistic words of Jesus and eliminated *est* altogether, Andrewes argued. Whatever went further than *significat*, he rejected as tending toward a "carnal presence". On this account, Andrewes claimed, the Church of England disliked Zwingli as much as the Church of Rome.⁸

In his first series of notes on the Prayer Book made in 1619 or shortly thereafter,⁹ John Cosin commented on the phrase, "So to eat the Flesh of.... and to drink His Blood", in the Prayer of Humble Access:

By this it may be known what our Church believeth and teacheth of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament. And though our new masters would make the world believe she had another mind, yet we are not to follow their private fancies, when we have so plain and so public a doctrine as this. Such as are profane may deride it, and move what harsh and unsavoury questions they list about the eating of Christ's Body, as Berengarius and his followers did; but we are of St. Cyprian's spirit.¹⁰

Years later, he still maintained the same unhesitating proclamation

of the English Church's faith in the eucharistic presence. "We believe", he wrote in his Concerning the Ordination of Priests, written sometime after 1645, that Christ "is there really, substantially, and truly".¹¹ The Church of England, Cosin argued, believed, maintained and enjoyed "Christ's sacramental Presence more purely" than did the Romans.¹² In his Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, written most likely in 1656, he claimed that the dominical words, "This is my body; This is my blood", were held and acknowledged by the universal Church to be true and infallible. If anyone were to oppose, reject or qualify them as meaning a mere figment or bare figure, he ought not to be excused or permitted to be within the Church of England:

Si quis autem contrarium affirmaverit, aut veracitatem Christi in dubium vocare ausus fuerit; dictisque Ejus fidem derogarit, nec iis ad sensum suum prae buerit, (nisi per figmentum et nudam figuram expositis et detortis,) illum in Ecclesiis nostris nec tolerare,¹³ nec excusare, vel possumus, vel debemus.

In one passage, moreover, Cosin associated empty symbolism with faithlessness, arguing that while the Fathers called the eucharist elements "figures", "signs", "types", "resemblances", etc., they were not so faithless as to believe that they were *nuda signa, aut elementa*.¹⁴ No Protestant, he claimed, denied the *realis, vera, et non imaginaria praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi*.¹⁵

Richard Montague, in his 1624 treatise, A Gagg for the New Gospell? No: A New Gagg for an Old Goose, written against a Roman controversialist (either Matthew Kellison or John Heigham),¹⁶ rejected the accusation that the Church of England held the opinion that the eucharistic bread is only a figure of the body:

Mad Papist, that imputest to poor Protestants, an Idoll, a Chimaera of thy owne brain; that The bread is but a figure, and no more, of

Christ's body. Protestants say it is not: they never said it. As commonly it happeneth, that all Reformations or Innovations are upon and into extremes: so some happely have, that departed long since from the Church of Rome. But what is that to our Church, that publicly, privately, all and some, directly maintains the clean contrary.¹⁷

Montague explicitly identified this "figurist" interpretation of the sacrament with Zwingli and Oecolampadius and expressed his dissatisfaction and condemnation by saying, "... so wee doo not like nor yeeld assent unto that jejune and macilent conceit of *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius*: whereby men account of this Sacrament, but onely as of a bare shadow, emptie & void, and destitute of Christ".¹⁸ A bare figure, he argued, is "but a phantasme", but it is certain that Christ gives "substance, and really subsisting essence".¹⁹ The Church of England, he claimed, teaches that the sacrament is more than a bare figure:

Sir, we acknowledge right willingly, and professe, that in the blessed Sacrament (as you call it, of the Altar) the *Body and Bloud* of our Saviour Christ is *really* participated & communicated; and by means of that *real participation, life from him and in him conveyed into our soules.*²⁰

A year later in 1625, Montague's theological skills were turned towards another enemy, the Puritans, who had accused him of writing about the sacrament in a way "verie Popishly".²¹ He retorted in his *Appello Caesarem* that his accusers must be "Figurists, Significatists and Symbolists".²² To label his teaching Popish, he said, was either the result of ignorance or of "malice *Puritanicall*". Moreover, such accusation revealed the complainers to be "meer *Sacramentaries* or worse, that denie *CHRIST'S Body* and his Blood to be in the *Sacrament* (I dare call it so in despite of detraction) *of the Altar*".²³ Here it can be seen that the worst label which Montague could attach to his enemies in

the sacramental dispute was that of deniers of the eucharistic presence. "Zwinglianism" or empty symbolism was clearly outside the boundaries of his understanding of sacramental orthodoxy.

Another clear renunciation of "memorialism" was made by William Forbes in his Considerationes, written sometime between 1531 and 1534, but not published until 1658. He rejected what he called the *Sententia Zwinglii, quam Theologi Tigurini mordicus retinuerunt ac defenderunt*.²⁴ This teaching he defined as belief that Christ is present in the eucharist only by the contemplation of faith, that there is no miracle since Christ is present by the life-giving Spirit efficaciously and spiritually, and that the sacramental union consists totally in signification: ... *Christum scilicet, contemplatione tantum fidei esse in Eucharistia praesentem; Nullum hic miraculo locum dandum esse, cum sciamus qua ratione Christus coenae suae adsit, nimirum Spiritu vivificante, spiritualiter et efficaciter: unionem sacramentalem in significatione totam consistere*.....²⁵ Such a doctrine, Forbes asserted, is by no means to be approved of (*minime probanda est*) since it is directly opposed to Scripture and the general understanding of the Fathers, as had been proved by others a thousand times over (*quemadmodum millies ab aliis demonstratum est*).²⁶

Nevertheless, he acknowledged, some theologians had advocated it, such as the Italian, Ludovicus Alamannus (*floruit* 1566)²⁷ and the Remonstrants in their Apologia pro Confessione Remonstrantium contra Censuras Quatuor Theologorum Leydensium. The latter had explicitly cited Zwingli as *optimum hujus ceremoniae doctorem*, an opinion which Forbes found to be most gravely erring. Moreover, they had even labelled that which was taught by Calvin and his followers concerning communion with the *physica corporis et sanguinis Christi substantia* (to

use the words of Forbes) as vanity, absurdity and the fountain of idolatry.²⁸ It was not surprising, according to Forbes, that these *hodierni Novatores* who held such abject opinions concerning this most august sacrament (*de hoc augustissimo Sacramento*) should find nothing in it at which they could wonder.

The Fathers, on the other hand, looked on the eucharist with holy awe as *tremendum mysterium*, because they believed that the worthy communicant truly and really takes into himself the body and blood of Christ (*vere et realiter corpus et sanguinem Christi in se ... sumere*) in a spiritual, miraculous and imperceptible manner (*modo quodam spirituali, miraculoso et imperceptibili*).²⁹ Forbes identified his eucharistic doctrine with those Protestants who accepted a true, real and substantial presence of Christ's body: *Tutissima et rectissima videtur illorum Protestantium aliorumque sententia, qui corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, realiter, et substantialiter in Eucharistia adesse et sumi existimant, imo firmissime credunt...*³⁰ As can be seen, Forbes both rejected the "radical left-wing" of eucharistic thinking and defended Christ's presence in the sacrament.

In 1639, Laud argued against Fisher the Jesuit that Protestants believed in the "true and substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist",³¹ and that "for the Church of England, nothing is more plain, than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist".³² In a footnote, he cited both the Articles of Religion and the Prayer Book as evidence for this claim. Appealing to Article XXVII, he argued, "So here is the manner of transubstantiation denied, but the body of Christ twice affirmed."³³ He then appealed to two prayers as affirming the "true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist". The first was the Prayer of Humble Access with these words,

"Grant us, gracious Lord, so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His Blood...."³⁴ The second was a post-communion prayer which contains the following: "We give Thee thanks, for that Thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ...."³⁵

None of the "learned Protestants" in Queen Mary's time denied the real presence, Laud claimed, although Archbishop Cranmer was "indeed of another opinion, and inclining to that of Zwinglius, till Bishop Ridley convinced his judgement and settled him in this point".³⁶ This latter statement was either an historical blunder on Laud's part or a deliberate re-working of material in order to make Cranmer say the opposite of what he actually said. The reference alluded to by Laud is that of Cranmer's examination before Bishop Brooks, in which Cranmer was accused of holding three different eucharistic doctrines during his lifetime and was then asked which of these three he taught when he condemned Lambert (John Nicholson) in 1538. Cranmer said that he held the "papists' doctrine". To the Roman bishop's charge that he became a Zwinglian after having been a Lutheran, Cranmer, who denied any such intermediate stage, said, "I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now - and so I did, until my lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors, drew me quite from my opinion."³⁷ Laud ostensibly interpreted this "I believed otherwise" as an inclination toward Zwinglianism from which Ridley drew Cranmer, rather than a reference to transubstantiation from which Ridley convinced him. Cranmer's antecedent assertion that he "taught but two contrary doctrines"³⁸ provides the context for understanding this passage in the latter sense instead of the former sense maintained by

Laud. Whatever the reasons may have been for Laud's interpretation of Cranmer's progression in eucharistic doctrine, it is clear that he was concerned to exonerate the Church of England from charges of "Zwinglianism", and to affirm a presence of Christ in the sacrament.

Jeremy Taylor, likewise, renounced "Zwinglianism" as an appropriate description of the teaching of the Church of England. In his 1649 comments on the words of distribution in sixteenth-century prayer books, he argued that the phrase, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving", in the second Prayer Book Edward VI (1552) replaced the formula, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life", as found in the first Edwardian Prayer Book (1549), "lest the people, accustomed to the opinion of transubstantiation and the appendant practices, should retain the same doctrine upon intimation of the first clause".³⁹ This did not imply, however, that the Church of England accepted "Zwinglianism" in place of the Roman teaching:

But, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when certain persons of the Zwinglian opinion would have abused the Church with sacramentary doctrine, and *pretended the Church of England had declared for it in the second clause of 1552*, the wisdom of the Church thought it expedient to join both clauses; the first, lest the Church should be suspected to be of the sacramentary opinion; the latter, lest she should be mistaken as a patroness of transubstantiation; and both these with so much temper and sweetness, that by her care she rather prevented all mistakes, than, by any positive declarations in her prayers, engaged herself upon either side, that she might pray to God, without strife and contention with her brethren.⁴⁰

Here Taylor came to the rescue of the 1552 service, exonerating it from the charge of "Zwinglian", but hinting that it contained certain weaknesses in that direction, which the Elizabethan Prayer Book remedied. What is significant is that he argued for a *via media* in the eucharistic

doctrine of the English Church, a *via media* somewhere between Rome and *Zurich* (N.B.: not Geneva!) which rejected bare figurism.

In his 1654 The Real and Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Taylor taught that "it is really Christ's body, which is verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's Supper".⁴¹ Like Cosin, Taylor went so far as to argue that the Church of England was the true defender of the real presence:

... so we may say of the blessed sacrament,
'Christ is more truly and really present in
spiritual presence than in corporal, in the
heavenly effect than in the natural being;'
this, if it were at all, can be but the less
perfect; and, therefore, we are, to the most
real purposes, and in the proper sense of
Scripture, the more real defenders of the real
presence of Christ in the sacrament;....⁴²

Of the eight theologians under consideration, Thorndike was the most condemnatory of empty symbolism, the proponents of which he labelled as "Socinians" and "Sacramentaries" in his 1659 Epilogue. This teaching, he claims, asserts that the sacrament is "no more than a mere sign, and the celebration and communion thereof, barely, the renewing of our Christian profession of believing in Christ crucified, Whom it representeth, importing no spiritual grace at all to be tendered by it from God".⁴³ In one passage, Thorndike stated that those who understand the eucharist to have been instituted only for a sign to confirm the faith by which one believes himself to be justified or predestined are unable to consecrate the eucharist and to receive the body of Christ by it, even if they maintain the traditional form of consecration. "Sacrilege they must committ", he asserted, "in abusing God's ordinance to that intent, for which He never appointed it; but sacrament there would be none, further than their own imagination."⁴⁴ These words were directed by Thorndike against his immediate adversaries, the Puritan overthrowers of the established Church.⁴⁵ More importantly,

however, they express his attitude toward any reduction of the eucharist to the level of a mere sign to confirm faith. "Sacramentarianism", according to Thorndike, is not only a wrong teaching, but one which destroys or invalidates the sacrament.

On the positive side of his theology, Thorndike was adamant in his assertion of a eucharistic presence. The Scriptures, he claimed, compel one to accept "the truth of Christ's Body and Blood, brought forth and made to be in the sacrament of the eucharist by making it to be that sacrament".⁴⁶ God's "tendering" of the communion of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross to communicants, implied for Thorndike that there is "another presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the sacrament, beside that spiritual presence in the soul".⁴⁷ The "representation" of Christ's sacrifice in the eucharist implies a particular kind of presence. It does not mean "the figuring or resembling of that which is signified", but implies what it did in Roman law "when a man is said *representare pecuniam*, who pays ready money". The meaning, he argued, is derived from *a re praesenti* (from the present thing) rather than from the preposition *re* (again). The import of this distinction for Thorndike was that the eucharist does not present again or signify to a man's senses a past event, but involves "the tendering of that to a man's possession, which is tendered him upon the place".⁴⁸ This interpretation of "representation" contrasts strongly with the "memorialistic" understanding of the eucharist and served to affirm the reality of a sacramental presence, which Thorndike also described as "the Bodily Flesh and Blood of Christ by mystical representation and by spiritual grace".⁴⁹

While there is much variety in the language employed by these Anglican churchmen to affirm the presence of Christ's body and blood in

the sacrament, e.g., "true", "real", "substantial", "spiritual", "mystical", and while it is not possible, as yet, to draw any clear conclusions concerning the content and meaning of these terms, let it suffice for the moment to recognize that whatever else they may or may not have meant, they were convinced that in some sense Christ's body and blood are the *res* of the sacrament. Even here, however, one must be careful not to limit the word "sacrament", since up to this point no unambiguous definition can be given as to whether they meant sacrament as object, i.e., the elements, or sacrament as action, i.e., consecration and communion.

By rejecting the teaching that the eucharist is only a sign or figure of the absent Christ, and by affirming a eucharistic participation in Christ's body and blood, these Anglicans showed themselves to be in continuity, first of all, with the sixteenth-century Anglican 'true' presence doctrine, which we looked at in the previous chapter.⁵⁰

Without belabouring the matter, one can say that they were also one with the Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Lutherans and Calvinists on this point.⁵¹

Nor should they be contrasted with the English Puritans of either the previous century or their own. The great Puritan divine, William Perkins (1558-1602), for example, in his treatise, A Reformed Catholike (first published in 1597), wrote, "We hold and beleieve a presence of Christ's bodie and blood in the sacrament of the Lords Supper: and that no fained, but a true and reall presence..."⁵²

Another Puritan, Richard Crakanthrope (1567-1624) who "became conspicuous among the puritanical party for his great powers as a disputant and a preacher",⁵³ similarly argued in his Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae (written some time after 1622, but not published until 1625) that the sacrament not only signifies Christ's body but exhibits the

true body of Christ instrumentally to those who believe (*sed creditibus, instrumentaliter sed spiritualiter, exhibens verum Christi corpus*).⁵⁴

While different sacramental emphases might have existed between the "Anglicans" and the "Puritans",⁵⁵ as John F. H. New has pointed out, both were equally intolerant of the teaching that the sacramental elements are *only* signs or figures.⁵⁶

What we have discussed so far is simply the *sine qua non* of Caroline eucharistic thinking - a presence of Christ in the sacrament. However they developed their teaching, this remained its foundation. The issue of *whether or not* there is a eucharistic presence was not their major concern, as it had been in the early stages of the reformation. What occupied their attention was how one should, or as equally important, should not, speak about the *modus* of this presence. The second edge of their apophatic weapon dealt with the latter concern - the recognition of an incomprehensible and indefinable depth to the sacramental presence.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Saravia had argued in his unpublished *De Sacra Eucharistia* that one should not inquire too curiously or too carnally into what kind of presence this might be: *Cujusmodi autem illa sit, non est curiosius crassiusve inquirendum*.⁵⁷ Let it be sufficient, he wrote, to understand from God's Word that in mysteries there is given to the senses "seals" and "testimonies" of an "incomprehensible" presence: *Sufficiat igitur nobis nos intelligere ex Verbo Dei, sensibus nostris in mysteriis data esse sigilla et testimonia praesentiae nobis incomprehensibilis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini;....*⁵⁸ With eyes still directed toward the continental dispute between Lutherans and Calvinists, Saravia was concerned with promoting

a reconciliation between the two. Why should one be thought to sin by believing that Christ, sitting at the right hand of the Father, feeds us on earth by the power of His deity with His body and blood, without bringing them locally to earth where the eucharist is celebrated (the Calvinist and English position), he asked.⁵⁹ Or, how does one sin by believing that Christ wills to be present with His body in His mysteries and to enter by a divine, spiritual, heavenly and supernatural manner the roof of the communicant's mouth, so that His body might fill the whole man with His deity (the Lutheran teaching)?⁶⁰ Concerning this latter position, Saravia remarked that if there be any error, it was a pious error, and that in his judgement there was no impiety in believing its possibility: *Si quis hic error est, pius. Id quidem non posse fieri contenditur: id tamen, meo iudicio, fieri non impie creditur.*⁶¹ Despite the differences between the two parties, no one who had a proper understanding denied the real presence; the controversy concerned only the mode of that presence: *Sed praesentia hujus cibi potusque realis non negatur ab iis qui recte sapiunt, quaecunque tandem illa sit. De praesentia modo sola videtur esse controversia.*⁶²

Saravia's approach was one which certainly had much in common with earlier Reformed evaluations of the eucharistic conflict. Calvin, for example, had also described the communion which the communicant has with the body of Christ as incomprehensible (*Car, comme ainsi soit que ce nous soit une chose incomprehensible, non seulement, à l'oeil, mais à nostre sens naturel, que la communication que nous avons au corps de Iesus Christ, elle nous est la visiblement monstrée.*⁶³), and had claimed that the only question between the Reformed and the Lutherans was one of mode, with the Lutherans placing Christ in the bread and the Reformed refusing to do so (*Parquoy nostre question ou différent est seulement de*

*la façon, pource que noz adversaires veulent loger Iesus Christ au pain, et nous disons qu'il n'est pas licite de la retirer du ciel.*⁶⁴) At the 1557 Worms Colloquy, the French and Swiss Reformed had said to their Lutheran counterparts that the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament was known to God alone (*qui soli Deo cognitus*),⁶⁵ and that the controversy between the two parties did not concern the presence itself, but only its manner: *Etsi quid nobis forte cum vere piis ac doctis controversiae est, non de re ipsa, id est, de praesentia, sed de modo praesentiae duntaxat, qui soli Deo cognitus est, a nobis autem creditur, disceptatur.*⁶⁶

That Saravia should have adopted this approach to the Lutheran-Calvinist conflict is not surprising, since he had spent thirty years of his life in the Reformed tradition without, however, it seems, having evinced any antagonism toward Lutheranism.⁶⁷ So much was he part of that tradition that he had been one of the contributors to the formulation of the 1561 Confessio Belgica, which also described Christ's presence in the eucharist as according to a manner which surpasses man's understanding and which is hidden and incomprehensible.⁶⁸ However else Saravia may have diverged from the Reformed eucharistic tradition, he continued its argument that the dispute between Lutherans and Reformed was unnecessary, since both were agreed on the presence itself, differing only on the manner, which was in fact incomprehensible.

A few years later, in 1610, Andrewes used a similar argument, but orientated in a different direction - towards Rome. The Church of England, he claimed, believes no less than does the Church of Rome in the true presence, but with regard to its manner, she does not define anything too rashly, nor does she anxiously inquire into the matter, any more than she attempts to investigate how the blood of Christ

washes the recipient of baptism or how the human nature is united to the divine nature in the person of Christ:

*Praesentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram, De modo praesentiae nil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus; non magis quam, in baptismo nostro, quomodo abluat nos sanguis Christi: non magis quam, in Christi incarnatione quomodo naturae Divinae humano in eandem hypostasin uniatur.*⁶⁹

Concerning the object of the presence, there is no disagreement, he asserted. Whether the body is present *in*, *con*, *sub* or *trans* cannot be determined from the Word of God, and consequently, questions concerning the mode of presence should not be placed on the level of *de fide*:

Nam, quod Cardinalem non latet, 'nisi volentem ut ultro', dixit Christus, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' Non, 'Hoc modo, hoc est corpus meum.' Nobis autem vobiscum de objecto conventi; de modo, lis omnis est: De, 'Hoc est,' Fide firma tenemus, quod sit: De, 'Hoc modo est,' (nempe Transubstantio in corpus pane) de modo, quo fiat ut sit, per, sive 'In,' sive 'Con,' sive 'Sub,' sive 'Trans') nullum inibi verbum est. Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter 'Scita Scholae'⁷⁰ fortasse, inter 'Fides Articulos' non ponimus.

We must pause here momentarily before going on to other Caroline divines in order to raise the question of the significance of these statements. Was Andrewes here suggesting that the gulf between Anglican and Roman teaching on the eucharistic presence was not so great as many had considered? Was he opening up a new direction in seventeenth-century English sacramental theology?

Inasmuch as he was urging a certain relaxation of the kinds of questions involved in the sixteenth-century eucharistic dispute, he was following in the steps of the great Elizabethan, Richard Hooker, who had previously written, "... sith we all agree that by the sacrament Christ doth really and truly in us perform his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation

or else by transubstantiation..... whether with change or without alteration of the element such as they imagine we need not greatly to care nor inquire."⁷¹ Certainly Andrewes could have had access to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (Book 5), since it was published in 1597; moreover, at some later stage, ^{/probably} he obtained the 1617-18 edition for his own library.⁷² It should also be pointed out that nine years before Andrewes' Responsio, Christopher Sutton had published a work, Godly Meditations upon the Most Holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper (1601), in which he had urged less meddling in the "how" of the eucharistic presence and had castigated Rome precisely because she had attempted to search out the unsearchable and had "sette downe a manner howe Christ is present in the Sacrament".⁷³ The similarities with what Andrewes was to say nine years later are obvious.

Something which is significant and which has frequently been overlooked by both Andrewes' detractors and supporters from the seventeenth century onwards is that his teaching that Anglicans differed from Romans only concerning the mode of presence had been previously claimed even by the *Puritan* divine, William Perkins. In his 1597 "A Reformed Catholike", Perkins had written:

We differ not [from the Roman Church] touching the presence itselfe, but onely in the manner of presence. For though we hold a reall presence of Christs bodie and blood in the sacrament, yet does we not take it to be locall, bodily, or substantiall, but spirituell and mysticall....

In a certain respect, then, Andrewes was saying no more than his English predecessors had already said. But did he mean exactly the same thing?

Already in the seventeenth century there were two very different interpretations of his reduction of the controversy to a question of the

manner of presence, rather than of the presence itself. The Lutheran divine, Johann Gerhard in his Loci Theologici (1610-1622), for example, argued that there were two ways in which the Calvinists denied the true, real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist. Some openly and without any ambiguity taught the absence of the body and blood; others put forward the same teaching, but much more carefully, under the guise of their assertion that the question concerned only the *modus praesentiae*, and not the presence itself, *non de ipsa praesentia*.⁷⁵ Among the examples of this latter sort, Gerhard cited Bishop Andrewes' statement (as quoted by Casaubon) that the conflict between the Church of England and the Church of Rome concerned only the manner and not the presence itself.⁷⁶ As can be seen, Gerhard interpreted Andrewes' claim simply as another example of the attempt by Reformed theologians to cover up their fundamental denial of the real presence of Christ's body.⁷⁷

A second interpretation of Andrewes' teaching, however, was that it was a clever cover-up for a eucharistic doctrine very close to that of the Roman Church. Thomas Bayly (?-1657?), a Roman Catholic himself, claimed that Andrewes, along with others of the "more ingenious and learned" Protestants, found themselves persuaded by the historical testimonies of the ancient Church to affirm the truth of the "real presence". In order, however, to "keep up their credit, with their own party", they argued against Rome that the strife concerned only the manner of presence, and not the real presence itself. (Bayly cited Andrewes' statements on this matter.) He went on to say that these "shifts" were "too pitifull" and that eventually these Anglicans would recognize that the manner, as well as the matter, of the real presence was taught by the early Fathers.⁷⁸ Bayly seems to have considered

that certain theologians within the Church of England really believed the thing signified by the Roman teaching of transubstantiation, without committing themselves either to the name or to the precise manner implied by transubstantiation.

Like Andrewes before him, John Cosin in his 1619 notes on the Prayer Book also taught an inscrutibility concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the eucharist. The body and blood of Christ are, he claimed, "really and substantially" "present", "exhibited" and "given", not according to a "physical and sensual, but after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner".⁷⁹ When he came to commenting on the phrase found in the 1604 Catechism, "The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and in deed taken and received of the faithfull in the Lordes Supper", he concluded that he could not "see where any real difference is betwixt us about this real presence, if we would give over the study of contradiction, and understand one another aright."⁸⁰ The "betwixt us" in this statement refers explicitly to the Churches of England and Rome.

If "taking refuge in the concept of the *mysterium tremendum*" was a characteristic of those whom C. W. Dugmore called the "High Churchmen",⁸¹ then even in his later life when he had become a "Central Churchman" (according to Dugmore), Cosin still maintained this characteristic from his earlier days. In his Concerning the Ordination of Priests (1645), he taught that Christ is present in the eucharist "really, substantially, and truly, after an incomprehensible way of being", which is the reason why the manner of transubstantiation was not admitted in the English Church: "we profess we know not how to explicate the manner".⁸² The Roman Church, he argued, by attempting to "declare and unfold" the manner of the eucharistic presence, had destroyed the nature of a mystery, whose

nature it is not to be declared, nor the manner of it unfolded to us".⁸³

"We know well", he wrote, "that Christ said, 'This is My Body', *not*, that *after this manner* it was His Body:- we believe verily that it is so." This did not mean, however, that one was compelled to believe that this occurred by transubstantiation "or after any other manner, whether *in*, or *with*, or *under* the bread".⁸⁴ The similarity between these words of Cosin and what Andrewes had written in his Responsio more than thirty years earlier is obvious. We know that Cosin had in his own library a copy of Andrewes' Responsio, although it is not possible to determine exactly when he obtained it.⁸⁵ If there is any doubt, however, that Cosin was borrowing from Andrewes, the following passage should eliminate it:

"We believe, I say, the Real Presence no less than they the Romans do: of the manner how, we dare not (as they do) so rashly define that, which we can never understand. Nor indeed are we curious to enquire into the manner, (it being an incomprehensible, great mystery, hidden from us,) no more than to enquire into the mystery of Baptism, how the Blood of Christ there washeth away our sins, no more than to enquire into the mystery of Christ's Incarnation, how the Divine and human nature are united together in one Person."⁸⁶

Even a casual comparison between this passage and the Latin text from Andrewes' Responsio cited earlier reveals the source of Cosin's teaching.

Cosin continued this theme in his 1647 A Declaration of the Ancient Catholic Faith:

... our difference from them [the Romans] of his owne partie laying only in the manner, how He is present, and how wee eate and drink him, (which manner, holding us to the veritie of the thing itselfe, with the ancient Fathers, wee are neither able to define, nor curious to search out)...

In his still later treatise, Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, in which he exposted most clearly the eucharistic presence, he still

claimed, however, not to search into its manner:

*Modum vero praesentiae Corporis Sanguinisque
Domini in S. Eucharistia nos, qui protestantes
sumus, et ad normam priscae ac Catholicae
Ecclesiae reformati, anxie non scrutamur; sed
(quod fecit prima et purissima Dei Ecclesia)
eum sapientiae et potentiae Domini committimus,
Ejusque verbis acquiescimus⁸⁸ et assensum vera
ac indubia fide praebemus.*

In this work, Cosin again cited Andrewes' statement that the Church of England agreed with the Church of Rome concerning the *objectum* in the eucharist and differed with her only with regard to the *modus*.⁸⁹ This time he acknowledged the Bishop as the source.

There can be little doubt that with regard to this aspect of eucharistic teaching - that of the *mysterium tremendum* with the simultaneous reduction of the eucharistic dispute between Anglicanism and Romanism to that of manner of presence - Cosin was standing in the same stream as Bishop Andrewes. It can also be pointed out that by the time he had written his later works, he had come to know, either personally or through their writings, other Caroline divines who were also in that stream.⁹⁰

One such divine was Richard Montague. In his polemical writings of the 1620s, he, likewise, maintained that the English Church did not differ from the Roman Church in the matter of the presence itself, but only in the *modus*, which was inscrutable. To his Roman opponent in A New Gagg for an Old Goose, he wrote, "But the divell bred you in a Faction, and brought you up in a Faction, and sent you abroad to do him service in maintaining a Faction: otherwise acknowledge, there is, there need bee, no difference in the point of *reall* presence."⁹¹

Christ is able, he argued, to bring about a "reall participation" in His body and blood "by that mighty working, whereby hee is able to doo whatsoever he hath said. We are not sollicitous for *manner* how he worketh it; not daring to pry into the Secret Counsels of the most

High".⁹² This communication is "inexplicable" and "unutterable"; "we confesse it: we believe it: we cannot comprehend it", he argued.⁹³

The words of institution, he claimed, warrant belief that "the very body of Christ" is received in the sacrament, but do not disclose "*per modum Con, or Trans, or any other like*".⁹⁴

The following year (1625), after having been accused of writing "verie Popishly" on the eucharist, he again asserted that the difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome was only about the manner of Christ's presence. Agreement could be reached if it were not for the "*factious and unquiet spirits on both sides*".⁹⁵ "The disagreement is only *de modo praesentiae*: the thing is yeelded to on either side, that there is in the holy Eucharist a *Reall presence*". Montague maintained.⁹⁶

Similarly, "... seeing both confesse that which is enough, *This is my Body*, and contend merely about the *MODUS*, How it is my Body".⁹⁷ In order to show that this assessment of the conflict was not unknown in the English Church, Montague appealed to a number of authors, including Richard Hooker and Bishop Andrewes. Concerning the former, he wrote:

Incomparable Hooker, that *Puritanomastix* might well say, and you in your right witts would subscribe it thus: *Seeing that by opening the severall opinions which have beene held, they are growne, for ought I can see, on all sides at the length to a generall agreement concerning that which alone is materiall, namely the real participation of CHRIST, and of life in his body and blood by meanes of this Sacrament, wherefore should the world continue still distracted (yes to please the humors, and serve the turnes of Iesuites and Puritans) and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remayneth now no controversie, saving only about the subject where CHRIST is? Yea, even in this point neyther side denyeth, but that the soule of man is the receptacle of CHRIST'S presence.*⁹⁸

With regard to Bishop Andrewes (whom he habitually referred to as "our

Gamaliel" while Andrewes was Bishop of Winchester⁹⁹), Montague claimed that he had gained his own understanding of this point from him:

And the reverend and learned *Answerer* unto BELLARMINES *Apologie*, cometh home to the Faith, or *Popery* if you will, condemned in M. MONTAGU, who learned it of him and such as he is. *Nobis vobiscum de OBIECTO convenit, de modo lis omnis est.* You understand not *objectum* and *modum* heer: take his owne application, to the purpose. *PRAESENTIAM inquam credimus, non minus quam vos VERAM.* *MODO PRAESENTIAE nil temere definimus.*¹⁰⁰

Montague, moreover, appealed to those divines standing in the Reformed 'true' presence tradition, including Calvin and Bishop Thomas Morton of Lichfield (1564-1659). The latter was to become Montague's major opponent in the 1626 conference and debate at York House in London, which resulted from the controversy aroused by Montague's books.¹⁰¹

And to them [Andrewes and Bilson] agreeth Bishop MORTON, p. 93. *The Question is not concerning a Real Presence, which Protestants, as their own Iesuits witnesse, doe also professe.* FORTUNATUS a Protestant holding that Christ is in the sacrament MOST REALLY: *verissime, realissime* are his words. CALVIN teaching that the *Presence of CHRIST'S Bodie in respect of the soules of the faithfull, is TRULY in this Sacrament, and substantially received.* With whom BEZA and SADAEL doe consent.¹⁰²

Needless to say, not all Englishmen were fond of the notion of the inscrutibility of the eucharistic presence, particularly when it was linked with the suggestion that the sacramental difference between England and Rome was insignificant. In 1626 there appeared, for example, an anonymous tract entitled A Second Parallel together with a Writ of Error Sued against the Appealer, which attacked Montague on these points. Montague, the tract argued, differed from the Church of England in three ways: 1) He taught there is no difference between Rome and England concerning the real presence itself, whereas "there is a

maine difference; and most of our Martyrs dyed rather, than they would acknowledge the Popish reall presence"; 2) He taught that the manner is unutterable, whereas the "Church of England defineth the manner", i.e., a spiritual and heavenly manner (here the author(s) appealed to article 28 of the Articles of Religion and Bishop Jewel's teaching); 3) He taught that transubstantiation and consubstantiation are indifferent matters, whereas "the Church of England expressly condemneth transubstantiation, as a grosse and dangerous error".¹⁰³ As can be seen, Montague was here accused of betraying the 'true' presence doctrine of the English Church by his use of a *mysterium tremendum* idea, and moving closer to, or opening the way for, Roman teaching.

Less than a decade later, and north of Gretna Green, William Forbes was thinking along lines similar to those of Saravia, Andrewes, Cosin and Montague. In his *Considerationes Modestae*, he argued that while belief in a true, real and substantial presence is correct, this presence is incomprehensible to the human intellect, known only to God and not revealed even in the Scriptures: *...sed modo humano ingenio incomprehensibili, ac multo magis inexorabili, soli Deo noto, et in Scripturis nobis non revelato...*¹⁰⁴ It is a *tremendum mysterium* and a communication of Christ's body and blood *modo quodam spirituali, miraculoso et imperceptibili*, according to Forbes.¹⁰⁵ Among the divines whom he cited to support these ideas are included John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Philip Melancthon and his followers, Caspar Cruciger, Martin Bucer, Caspar Hedio, and the Reformed deputies at the 1577 Worms Colloquy.¹⁰⁶

Forbes also insisted that the issue with Rome concerned the manner of presence, not the presence itself, and appealed to Andrewes (whose relevant passages from the *Responsio* he quoted in full), Hooker and

Montague, among others, for support.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, he rejected Bishop Morton's view, found in his 1631 Of the Institution of the Sacrament, that no sound Protestant (and undoubtedly Morton had Montague in mind) could rightly think it possible to tolerate or reconcile the Romans upon the pretence that the eucharistic controversy concerned only a question of *modus*.¹⁰⁸ The more rigid Protestants (*Protestantes rigidiore*s) who attacked the Roman and Lutheran eucharistic doctrines as heretical, impious and blasphemous had been refuted both by the defenders of these doctrines and by those who were anxious for the unity of the Church, Forbes claimed.¹⁰⁹ While Forbes acknowledged that some Romans and Lutherans had written grossly on the question of real presence with its oral manducation of Christ's body, others had written soberly and modestly (*sobrie et modeste*). They should not be attacked and condemned as Capernaïtes, flesh-eaters, Christ-murderers or drinkers of blood (*Capernaïtas, carnivoros, Christicidas, αἵματοπότας*).¹¹⁰ These names, Forbes claimed, had nothing true in them, they lacked Christian charity, and they should be avoided for love of God, truth and the peace of the Church.¹¹¹ With words like these, it is easy to understand why Forbes was not popular among the strict Calvinists and why he has been described as "obnoxious to the presbyterian party in the Church of Scotland".¹¹²

In 1636, the Scottish Calvinist David Calderwood (1575-1650) levelled an attack against certain "English prelates" and "some of our ministers the chief urgers of kneeling" who had "taught in publike in the pulpits of Edinburgh, that we ought not to contend, or descant [*sic*] curiously upon the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and that he is present in an unknown manner".¹¹⁴ Forbes must have been one such minister whom Calderwood had in mind, since he had been one of the

chief defenders of kneeling at the Perth Assembly of 1618 and had been appointed one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1621 and consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh in 1634.¹¹⁵ These English prelates and Scottish ministers, Calderwood continued:

... would have us beleieve that the manner of the presence of Christ's body at the sacrament is unknown, whereas we know very well, that Christ's body is present after a spiritual manner to the soules of the godly receaving by faith, but to the sacrament, or elements only after a sacramental manner, that is, relatively, as things signified are to signes, howbeit farre distant. *That incomprehensible or unsearchable manner, whereby they talke, is a lurking hole for adversaries of the trust, as Beza can tell him.*¹¹⁶

Clearly then, Calderwood feared that the notion of *mysterium tremendum* was being utilized to open the door for either transubstantiation or "consubstantiation" to enter the English and Scottish Churches.¹¹⁷

One can reasonably assume that Forbes was proclaiming in his sermons what he was arguing for in his Considerationes Modestae.

Three years after Calderwood's attack, another English prelate, William Laud, was again arguing that the eucharistic dispute with Rome was only a question of *modus*. In his 1639 Relation of the Conference with Fisher, Laud taught that there is a distinction between those things which are "Fundamental in the faith" and those things which are only *de modo* (or a consideration of the manner in which a thing is). The latter, things which are *de modo*, cannot possibly be fundamental in the faith.¹¹⁸ When he came to the specific discussion of the eucharist, Laud appealed to Nicholas Ridley, whom he regarded as having spoken so well that "I think no man can add to his expression; and it well if some Protestants except not against it". The words of Ridley given by Laud are ones which claim that the eucharistic controversy between England and Rome concerns the question of mode, not of presence:

Both you and I agree herein: That in the sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo* 'in the way and manner of being': we confess all one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I confess Christ's natural Body, to be in the sacrament by spirit and grace, &c. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural Body, under the shape and form of bread and wine.¹²⁰

After having appealed to these three English Churchmen, Laud cited Calvin, claiming that "he comes no whit short of these, against the calumny of the Romanists on that behalf [the eucharistic presence]".¹²¹

The first passage from Calvin included by Laud in a footnote is this:

... *tantum de modo quaestio est: facessat calumni auferri Christum a sua coena...*¹²²

The implication of these various statements by Laud was that the division between England and Rome on the sacramental issue did not concern a fundamental point of faith. For this, the Puritan Henry Burton attacked him the following year in his A Replie to a Relation of the Conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite (1640). After a lengthy polemic against the "corporal" presence of Christ in the eucharist, Burton concluded:

And thus by a false beliefe of the very manner onely of *Christ's presence* in the Popish Eucharist, *Christ* the Foundation is overthrowne. And this errour *de modo*, of the manner of being onely, overthrowing the Foundation, must needs be a *Fundamentall errour*,¹²³ if any errour may be said to be *Fundamentall*.

As far as Burton was concerned, Laud was putting a question mark over something which should have been *clearly* determined.

Moreover, the Bishop was of the opinion that the question of sacramental presence was not one to be examined too closely, as long as

the true communication of Christ's body was held. In his private prayers he wrote, "And behold, I quarrel not the words of Thy Son my Saviour's blessed Institution. I know His words are no gross unnatural conceit, but they are spirit and life, and supernatural. While the world disputes, I believe".¹²⁴ Laud claimed an agnosticism concerning the way in which the body of Christ was communicated: "O Lord God, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the price of my redemption, is the very wonder of my soul, yet my most firm and constant belief upon the words of my Saviour."¹²⁵

A very likely source of influence on Laud with regard to the above ideas would be some of the other Caroline divines already mentioned. Laud was a friend of Lancelot Andrewes, whom he regarded as that "worthy Bishop of Winchester, the great light of the Christian world".¹²⁶ He and Andrewes met and worked together on various matters as fellow-brothers in the English episcopate,¹²⁷ and Laud borrowed liturgical forms and usages from Andrewes.¹²⁸ He knew Cosin from the theological discussions held at Durham House in London during the 1620s,¹²⁹ and he certainly knew Montague's *Appello Caesarem*, since he, along with Bishops Andrewes, Neile, Buckeridge and Montague, had been called upon by King Charles I to pass judgment on its orthodoxy. In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, the five prelates had concluded that "Mr. Montague, in his book, hath not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the Church of England or agreeable thereunto".¹³⁰ Another, somewhat different, quarter which might also have influenced Laud in his distinction between the presence and its mode is Perkins' *A Reformed Catholic* (*supra*, p. 92), to which Laud, in fact, appealed during his trial in 1644.¹³¹

Several years later, during the *Interregnum*, Jeremy Taylor also defended the mysterious character of the eucharist. In his 1654 The Real Presence, he argued that to those who ask what and how the sacrament is, the appropriate response should be similar to that response given by the man in Phaedrus when he was asked what he carried hidden under his cloak. He answered by saying that it was hidden under the cloak. This means, Taylor claimed, that the man would not have hidden it unless he intended it to be secret. Concerning the eucharist, then, "*Mysterium est*; - It is a sacrament and a mystery".¹³² There is, he asserted, no advantage to defining the manner of presence, and it "were better left at liberty to every man to think as he please" as was done in the Church for more than one thousand years. Better yet, however, it would be if men did not trouble themselves at all about this question since "it is a thing impossible to be understood; and therefore it is not fit to be inquired after".¹³³ Moreover, Taylor claimed that this reluctance to discuss the nature of the eucharistic presence was not contradicted by his insistence upon a "real and spiritual" presence, since such terminology would "still leave the article in his deepest mystery".¹³⁴

That these ideas of Taylor have much in common with those of earlier Caroline divines is not surprising, since, in his younger days, he had been patronized by Archbishop Laud, being sent by him to Oxford where he was to receive "a better orientation" in various matters (as F. L. Huntley puts it) than could be had at Cambridge. In 1636, Taylor was made a fellow of All Souls, Oxford, by Laud himself, rather than by free election, and shortly thereafter, the Archbishop made him his own chaplain.¹³⁵ Moreover, in his 1654 treatise, Taylor showed acquaintance with Andrewes' Responsio,¹³⁶ and six years later, he expressed his approval, not only of this treatise of Andrewes, but also of the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Montague's A New Gagg for an Old Goose and Laud's A Relation to the Conference with Fisher, all of which he recommended (among other books) to be included in a theological library which a friend

of his was intending to begin.¹³⁷

In his 1659 Epilogue, Herbert Thorndike, who, of all the theologians under consideration, was probably the clearest in his exposition of the sacramental presence, was also forced to admit that he was unable to explain its exact manner:

But if a man demand further, how I understand the Body and Blood of Christ to be present 'in', or 'with', or 'under', the elements, when I say, they are 'in', and 'with', and 'under', them, as 'in', and 'with', and 'under', a sacrament mystically; I conceive I am excused to declare the manner of that which must be mystical, when I have said what I can say to declare it.¹³⁸

As can be seen, when he stated that the manner of Christ's presence is "mystical", he contrasted it with that which can be expressed. "Mystical" meant for him something like "inexplicable" or "unutterable". At a certain point, then, Thorndike was forced to admit that he was unable to explain any further the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

What is important to notice about the above passage is that Thorndike linked the mysterious character of the eucharist with the Lutheran language of "in, with and under". In this treatise (as we shall see again later), he showed his familiarity with the Liber Concordiae and Chemnitz' Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae,¹³⁹ both of which utilized "in, with and under" terminology, but which also recognized the inexpressibleness of what this exactly meant.¹⁴⁰ That Thorndike was reduced to silence before the *mysterium tremendum* of the sacrament at about the same point as the sixteenth-century Lutherans, whose /least some writings he knew, suggests at /dependence upon them in this matter.¹⁴¹

From Saravia in the first decade of the seventeenth century to Thorndike more than fifty years later, the theme of inscrutibility concerning the eucharistic presence was, in varying ways, expressed by

the Caroline theologians. Was this something peculiar to them, as has frequently been suggested or implied, especially by the Tractarians,¹⁴² or was it a more universal phenomenon?

As has already been seen, in the sixteenth century Calvin had acknowledged a certain incomprehensibility in the eucharist, a theme which various of his followers continued to maintain. Likewise, we observed in connection with Thorndike how Lutherans had similarly acknowledged an inscrutable depth to the eucharistic mystery.¹⁴³ The seventeenth-century Lutheran divine, Johann Gerhard, went so far as to acknowledge in his *Loci Theologici* (1610-1622) (as did Forbes a short time later) that the body and blood of Christ are truly, really and substantially present (*veram, realem & substantialem corporis & sanguinis Christi in sacra coena praesentiam*), but in a sublime mystery (*in sublimi mysterio*) and in a way known to God alone, but incomprehensible to the Church (*modo soli Deo cognito, nobis vero incomprehensibili*).¹⁴⁴ In the previous century, the Greek Orthodox in their response to the Cardinal of Guise affirmed that the Holy Spirit is the agent of the transformation of bread into the body of Christ, but also asserted that the manner of this change is not capable of being investigated:

*Sed quod panis & vinum in corpus & sanguinem Christi mutantur. Quod si modum, quo id fiat, requiris: satis esto tibi, quod audias per Spiritum sanctum fieri. quemadmodum etiam a sancta illa dei pera sibi & in se per Spiritum sanctum carnem produxit. ne tamen aliud quidquam scire possumus, quam quod Dei quidem sermo verax sit, & efficax & omnipotens: modus autem minime pervestigabilis.*¹⁴⁵

Even defenders of transubstantiation, such as Stephen Gardiner, had acknowledge a certain agnosticism concerning Christ's presence. In his 1551 *An Explication and Assertion*, he wrote that "the manner of presence ... is spiritual excedyng our capacity", and that it is a "manner as God

only knoweth".¹⁴⁶ Somewhat later, the Roman polemicist and opponent of Andrewes, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), taught that the conversion of bread into the body of Christ is *arcanem, et ineffabilem, et nullis naturalibus conversionibus per omnia similem*.¹⁴⁷

The Caroline teaching of the mysterious character of Christ's presence in the eucharist, then, was not a new idea. Theologians from all the major parties within Christendom had acknowledged that at a certain point one can say no more to explain the sacramental presence. While they differed as to where this point is, they all were reduced eventually to silence before the *mysterium tremendum*. So also the seventeenth-century Anglican divines. This is as one would expect it to be, since only a thorough-going and consistent "Zwinglian" or "figurative" interpretation of Christ's eucharistic presence, or absence, would make the sacrament completely explicable. As we have seen, the Caroline divines loathed this reductionism. Thus, they were led to acknowledge, no matter how much they positively wrote about the sacrament, that there is an inscrutable, unknowable and incomprehensible depth to the eucharistic mystery.

But what did the corollary which they frequently attached to this acknowledgement - i.e., that the difference dividing the various churches was only a question of *modus*, not a question of the presence itself, - imply? Was it a subtle manoeuvre for opening the doors to eucharistic doctrine going beyond their inherited Reformed 'true' presence teaching? Or, was it merely a continuation of the Reformed attitude, expressed by Englishmen like Ridley and Hooker, and by continentals like the French and Swiss delegates at the Worms Colloquy whose policy had roots in Calvin himself?¹⁴⁸ If it was a case of the latter, the Caroline use of this idea would imply nothing special about

any possible development in their eucharistic thinking. We shall attempt to answer these questions in the following chapters.

What is important at this point is to recognize the Caroline acceptance of the eucharist as *mysterium tremendum*, the two-edged weapon by which they affirmed the *thatness* of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and yet the irreducibility of that presence to man's rational comprehension. As we shall see, they were quite willing to describe this presence in greater detail, offering more "pointers" toward the mystery. Nonetheless, one must always bear in mind their reserve and their awe in the face of the sacramental presence, so as not to think of their eucharistic teaching in a positivistic manner.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Zwinglianism" is used here as synonymous with "bare figurism" or "empty symbolism", since it was often used this way by the men under consideration. It was not used as a positive description of Zwingli's own eucharistic doctrine, as there is scholarly debate about the actual content of his teaching. Supra, p. 63 ft.nt. 107.

²The treatise was probably written in 1605 or 1606, but was not published until the 19th century.

³De Sacra Eucharistia, trans. & ed., George A. Denison (London: Joseph Masters, 1855), p. 174.

⁴Ibid., p. 34. Whether or not Saravia comprehended all the issues and the language dividing the parties in the sixteenth-century eucharistic controversy is one matter (W. Nijenhuis has suggested that he did not. Adrianus Saravia, pp. 173, 197), but there can be little doubt that he both rejected a purely commemorative interpretation of the sacrament, and affirmed a presence of Christ in it.

⁵Works of Lancelot Andrewes, ed., J. P. Wilson & J. Bliss, 11 vols. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1846-1865), 1: 16-17.

⁶Works: Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinali Bellarmine: 13 (hereinafter abbreviated as RACB).

⁷"And for *Qui pascet*, He [Christ] is Melchizedek, King and Priest; ready to bring forth as he did bread and wine. But in another manner far than he did. The bread and wine Melchizedek brought forth were not his body and blood; Christ's are. Both *Qui pascet* and *Quo pascet*."

Ibid., 1: 169.

⁸Ibid.: Minor Works, Life, Indexes, p. 14 (hereafter abbreviated as MW). This argument of Andrewes is found in the treatise, Stricturae: or, A Briefe Answer to the XVII Chapter of the First Booke of Cardinall Perron's 'Reply'. Written in French to King James, 1629.

⁹Although the editor of Cosin's Works (LACT) regarded Cosin as the author of this series of notes (see, 5: xv), there has been much scholarly debate about it. D. Stone in The History of the Eucharist, 2: 327 has suggested that a nephew of Bishop Overall may have been the author. Mackean simply asserted that the series was wrongly ascribed to Cosin ("Anti-Apologetics", The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion, p. 210). Dugmore gives a short history of the debate about the authorship and seems to suggest that they may well belong to Cosin, although they contain different ideas than those found in his later writings. G. J. Cuming attributed the notes to Overall or his nephew, Hayward. The Durham Book (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press Pub., 1961), p. xiii. In a 1975 lecture, however, he made the point that whether the notes "were in fact written by Bishop Overall, and merely copied by Cosin.... it hardly affects the issue. Cosin's devotion to his first patron extended to a wholehearted acceptance of his authority in matters of doctrine, and it is entirely reasonable to take these notes as representing Cosin's own views". The Anglicanism of John Cosin (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1975) (published by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1975), p. 6. We shall adopt Cuming's approach.

¹⁰The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham, ed., J. Sansom, 5 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1843-1855), 5: 104-105.

¹¹Ibid., 4: 282.

¹²Ibid., p. 284.

¹³Ibid., pp. 15-16. (The full title of this treatise is *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis; Cui Praemittitur, atque Opponitur, Tum S. Scripturae, Tum Veterum Patrum, & Reformatarum Ecclesiarum, Doctrina Catholica de Sacris Symbolis & Praesentia Christi in Sacramento Eucharistiae*, 1675. An English translation of this work was made the following year, and can be found in vol. 4 of Cosin's Works, pp. 148-237. The original Latin work was probably written in 1656, but not published until 19 years later.)

¹⁴Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 18; see also, pp. 21, 44.

¹⁶The DNB, 38: 267, suggests that Kellison was the author of the tract, A Gagg for the New Gospel, while J. S. Macauley in her doctoral dissertation argues that John Heigham penned the work. Richard Mountague, Caroline Bishop, 1575-1641 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1964), p. 187.

¹⁷A Gagg for a New Gospell? NO: A New Gagg for an Old Goose (London: Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes & William Barret, 1624), p. 253. Montague did, however, admit a certain representational

character in the sacrament. The wine should be red, rather than wine, he said in 1638, since then it could "resemble the blood, and doth more effectually represent the Lord's passion upon the Cross, whereof the blessed Sacrament is a commemorative representation". Articles of Inquiry Put Forth at the Primary Visitation of the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Richard Montague, Sometime Bishop of Norwich and Confessor (London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington; Cambridge: T. Stevenson; Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1841), p. 52. (Originally put forward in 1638.)

¹⁸ A New Gagg, p. 252.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 250.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 251; see also, p. 257.

²¹ Appello Caesarem. A Juste Appeale from Two Unjust Informers (London: Matthew Lownes, 1625), p. 284.

²² Ibid., p. 297.

²³ Ibid., p. 296.

²⁴ Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum, de Justificatione, Purgatio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore et Eucharistia, ed., G.H.F. i.e., [George Hay Forbes?], 2 vols. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1850-1856), 2: 380. This work was first published in 1658 by Bishop T. Sydeserf of Galloway, twenty-four years after Forbes' death; it was republished at Helmstadt in 1704, at Frankfurt-on-Main in 1707 and at Oxford in 1856 as part of the LACT series. This last edition was accompanied by an English translation. Ibid., p. 3.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 380.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Forbes cited, without quoting, a letter of Beza addressed to Alamannus which said, e.g., *Tertius error in eo est quod substantiale Christi corpus in Coena praesens esse simpliciter negas*. (2 June 1566.) Correspondance de Theodore de Bezé, ed., Hippolyte Aubert, 10 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1960-1980), 7: 115. See, Considerationes, 2: 380.

²⁸ Considerationes, 2: 380, 382. See also this treatise of the Remonstrants, in Simon Episcopus, Opera Theologica, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Johannis Henrici Boom, 1650-1665), 2 (Part 2): 236-37.

²⁹ Considerationes, 2: 382.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 388.

³¹ The Works of William Laud, ed., William Scott, 7 vols. in 9 parts. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1847-1860), 2: 325. (From the treatise, A Relation of the Conference Between William Laud, Late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, sixth edition 1849; originally, 1639).

³²Ibid., p. 328.

³³Ibid., ft.nt. f.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 329-31.

³⁷Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556, ed., John Edmund Cox, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), p. 218. W. Nijenhuis has written, "By this 'opinion' [i.e., from which Cranmer claimed to have been drawn by Ridley] we must understand not the Roman but the Lutheran concept of the corporal presence of the Lord in the Sacrament". "Traces of a Lutheran Eucharistic Doctrine in Thomas Cranmer" in Ecclesia Reformata, p. 21. Whether Lutheran or Roman, Cranmer's former "opinion" from which Ridley persuaded him was not "Zwinglian"!

³⁸Miscellaneous Writings, p. 218.

³⁹The Whole Works of the Right Reverend Jeremy Taylor, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, 3rd. ed., Reginald Heber, ed., 15 vols. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1839), 7: 302. (From An Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, against the Pretence of the Spirit, 1649). There is also a revised ten volume edition (1847-1854) by C. P. Eden. The 1838 edition, however, was the one normally available to the student. Only in a few instances have I cited from the Eden edition, and these will be noted when they appear. For the above distribution formulae, see, The Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, pp. 92, 279.

⁴⁰Works, 7: 302. See also, 15: 405-6 and 421 (The Worthy Communicant; or A Discourse of the Nature, Effects, and Blessings, Consequent to the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper, and of All the Duties Required in Order to a Worthy Preparation, 1660). [Emphasis is mine.]

⁴¹Ibid., 10: 60.

⁴²Ibid., 9: 426.

⁴³The Theological Works of Herbert Thorndike, 5 vols. in 7 parts. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1844-1856), 4: 4-5. (From An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England, Being a Necessary Consideration and Brief Resolution of the Chief Controversies in Religion that Divide the Western Church; Occasioned by the Present Calamity of the Church of England. Book III: The Laws of the Church, 1659.)

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁵His enemies were those who "believe, that they are justified by believing that they are justified, or predestinate, in consideration only of Christ's sufferings, and that the eucharist is instituted only

for a sign to confirm this faith". Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 22.

⁵⁰Only a few of the many explicit denials of "memorialism" in sixteenth-century Anglicanism are found, e.g., in the homily on "The Worthy Receiving and Reverent Esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" published in 1562 during Elizabeth's reign (Certain Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth of Famous Memory (London: SPCK, 1846), p. 476), in Bishop Jewel's Reply to M. Harding (Works 1: 448), and in the 1553, 1563, and 1571 Articles of Religion (Hardwick, A History of the Articles, pp. 328-29). At times, sixteenth-century Anglicans were unwilling to use the term, "real presence". The 1553 Articles of Religion, for example, associated it with a corporeal presence: "And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto thende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not, either to beleve, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes supper." (Hardwick, A History of the Articles of Religion, p. 330.) Nicholas Ridley said that it is Christ's "true blood which is in the chalice", but "not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament". Works, pp. 237-38. W. H. Mackean has explained this refusal in the following way: "In the early days of the Reformation it had been generally associated with the doctrine of Transubstantiation and rejected, unless it was accompanied by an explanation... But as time went on, the term came into common use...", from "Anti-Roman Apologetics. The Carolines" in McDonald, The Evangelical Doctrine, p. 192.

⁵¹See, e.g., the Council of Trent's anathematizing of "memorialism" and its affirmation of a true, real and substantial presence (Canones et Decreta, p. 63 [Sess. XIII, Can. 1]); the Greek Orthodox response to Claude, Cardinal of Guise, in which they denied that the words of institution could be interpreted as meaning that only a sign and not the body itself is present in the eucharist ("Claudii Cardinalis Guisani. XII Quaestiones et Graecorum ad eas Responsiones" in Sigismund von Heberstein, trans. Ioannis Leuenklaii, Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii Sigismundi Liberi Baronis in Heberstein, Neyperg, & Guettenhag [Basil: Ex Officina Oporiniana, 1571], p. 196); Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople's first letter to the Lutherans in which he stated that after the consecration the body and blood of Christ are present through the power of the Holy Spirit (Acta et Scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium, et Patriarchae Constantinopolitane D. Hieremiae: Quae utriq; ab Anno M.D.LXXVI. Usque ad Annum M.D.LXXXI. de Augustana Confessione inter se Miserunt Graece & Latine ab iisdem Theologis Edita Wittenberg: In Officina Haeredum Johannis Cratonis, 1584, p. 86); the Confessio Augustana's affirmation of the presence of the body and blood (Bekenntnisschriften, p. 64); the Konkordienformel's exclusion of "Zwinglian" teachers from the ranks of the Lutherans (ibid., pp. 796-98);

Calvin's repudiation of a purely symbolic or figurative presence and his affirmation of a true communication of Christ's body and blood (CR, 33: 439 [1541 *Petit Traicté de la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ*]; CR, 33: 350; [1538 *Catechismus sive Christianae Religionis Institutio*]); and the French and Swiss Reformed confession to the Lutherans at the 1557 Colloquy of Worms in which they made very clear that they did not believe the sacrament only to signify the body of Christ or to be only a symbol, figure type or memorial of the absent Christ (Melchior Goldast, *Politica Imperialia, sive Discursus Politici, Acta Politica, et Tractatus Generales* [Frankfurt: Iohannis Bringeri, 1614], p. 1,306).

⁵²The Works of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins (Cambridge: John Legat, 1603), p. 708.

⁵³DNB 13: 2.

⁵⁴Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae contra M. Antonii de Dominis, D. Archiepiscopi Spalatensis Iniurias (1625) reproduced in the LACT series and edited by C. W. Wordsworth (Oxford: J. P. Parker, 1847), p. 487. See also p. 518.

⁵⁵For a discussion of this, see John F. H. New, Anglican and Puritan. The Basis of their Opposition, 1558-1640 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), pp. 63-68.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁷De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 34.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 36.

⁵⁹*Quid, obsecro, peccare credendus est ille qui credit Dominum e coelo, sedentem ad Dei Patris dexteram, nos hic in terris, Numinis Sui virtute, Sua crucifixa Carne, et fuso Suo Sanguine, vere et realiter pascere, nec ad eam rem opus esse ut hic in terris localiter suam Carnem et Suum Sanguinem sistat eo loci ubi mysteria celebrantur? De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 30.

⁶⁰*Et contra, quid peccat alius qui tantum erga nos Christi Domini credit amorem ut praesens Corpore Suis mysteriis adesse velit, ac divino, spirituali et coelesti modo, supernaturalique tectum nostri palati subire, ut sic Corpus praesens Suo Numine totum hominem impleat?* Ibid., pp. 30, 32.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 32.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³CR, 33: 439 (*Petit Traicté de la Sancte Cene*).

⁶⁴Institution 4: 17-31.

⁶⁵Politica Imperialia, p. 1,306.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Nijenhuis, Adrianus Saravia, p. 10. This is not to deny, however, that there might have been some influence from Richard Hooker as well (see the connection between Andrewes and Hooker on this issue) with whom Saravia was closely acquainted after 1590. Keble, Hooker's Works 1: lxxv (preface). The continental Reformed context, however, was the earlier, and it would seem, more dominant source of influence.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 16; see also, W. Nijenhuis, "Adrianus Saravia as an Eirenic Churchman in England and the Netherlands" in Reform and Reformation, ed. by D. Baker, p. 100. For an English translation of the eucharistic article in the Confessio Belgica, see Cochrane, Reformed Confessions, pp. 215-16.

⁶⁹Works, RACB: 13.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Works of Hooker, Book 5 of Ecclesiastical Polity, 67: 6.

⁷²D. D. Chambers in his "A Catalogue of the Library of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626)" lists a copy of this edition as in Andrewes' library, but indicates that there is no proof that this volume was Andrewes', although it probably or possibly was. Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society (1969-1971), vol. 5, ed., John Harrison and Nigel Hancock (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), p. 112. The student has examined this volume, found in Pembroke College, Cambridge, but discovered nothing pertinent to the discussion.

⁷³Godly Meditations upon the Most Holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper. In the end, De Eucharistia Controversia admonitio brevis (London: I. W.? 1601), pp. A,12 [V&R]; B,5 [V&R]; B,6 [V]; B,7 [R].

⁷⁴Works of Perkins, p. 709.

⁷⁵Loci Theologici, 10 vols., ed., Eduard Preuss (Berlin: G. Schlawitz, 1863-1885), 5: 102.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 103.

⁷⁷A nineteenth-century Anglican churchman and opponent of the Tractarians, William Goode, took up this theme of Gerhard, arguing that Bishop Andrewes' assertion was nothing more than "what even Calvin and others of the same school have said". The Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist: or The True Doctrine of the Real Presence Vindicated in Opposition to the Fictitious Real Presence Asserted by Archdeacon Denison, Mr. (late Archdeacon) Wilberforce, and Dr. Pusey, 2 vols. (London: T. Hatchard, 1856), 2: 814-15. Goode appealed directly to Gerhard as an "impartial testimony" for interpreting Andrewes' teaching.

⁷⁸An End to Controversie Between the Romane Catholique, and the Protestant Religions (Dovay: 1654), p. 376. See also, Dugmore, Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 77-78.

⁷⁹Works 5: 131.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 155.

⁸¹Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 66. Dugmore claims that Cosin's views on the eucharist underwent a "decided change" after his exile to France (circa. 1644). Ibid., pp. 50-51, 104.

⁸²Works 4: 282.

⁸³Ibid., p. 283.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵What remains of Cosin's library is housed in "Cosin's Library" at the University of Durham. The student has examined this volume, which lacks the characteristic Peterhouse markings which would indicate that Cosin had the book before 1645. It would be a fair guess to say that he obtained the volume just about the time he was writing Concerning the Ordination of Priests.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷The full title of this tract is A Declaration of the Ancient Catholic Faith and Doctrine of the Fathers, Concerning the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament: Shewing that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation (as it was first set forth by Pope Innocent the Third, in his pretended Council of Lateran, and afterwards by Pope Pius the 4th, in the end of the late Council of Trent) was not the faith or doctrine of the Catholic Church in any Age before Them. And an answer to the Pretended authorities of the twelve hundred and twenty fathers produced for the upholding of his opinion who entitled his writing 'Transubstantiation Maintained'. George Ornsby, ed., The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with Other Papers Illustrative of His Life and Times, 2 vols. Surtees Society (Durham: Andrews & Co.; London: Whittaker & Co.; Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1869-1872), 1: 262.

⁸⁸Works 4: 18.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁹⁰At Durham House in London during the 1620s, Cosin met such men as William Laud, Richard Montague and John Buckeridge, who came together for discussions of theology and current church issues. P. G. Stonewood, ed., John Cosin. A Collection of Private Devotions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. xiv. Moreover, Cosin was one of the divines who defended Montague at the York House conference in 1626 after Appello Caesarem raised such a stir. Macauley, Richard Mountague, pp. 309 ff. From what remains of his library (Durham), we know that Cosin had obtained Montague's A New Gagge for an Old Goose some time before 1645 (it has the Peterhouse marking), and Laud's A Relation of the Conference and Buckeridge's A Discourse Concerning Kneeling some time after 1645, all of which contain similar ideas with regard to the distinction between the presence and its *modus*.

- ⁹¹ A New Gagge, p. 253.
- ⁹² Ibid., pp. 251-52.
- ⁹³ Ibid., pp. 252, 255.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., p. [D 2(V)] (Preface).
- ⁹⁵ Appello Caesarem, pp. 288-89.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 289.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 291.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Macauley, Richard Mountague, pp. 41-42; Appello Caesarem, pp. 215, 265; Cosin, Correspondence 1: 70.
- ¹⁰⁰ Appello Caesarem, p. 290.
- ¹⁰¹ Macauley, Richard Mountague, pp. 309 ff.
- ¹⁰² Appello Caesarem, p. 290. The above text is found in Morton's A Catholike Appeale for Protestants, Out of the Roman Doctors (London: George Bishop & John Norton, 1610), p. 93, but differs from the text given by Montague in one slight but significant way. Morton began the passage by writing, "... but the question is not *absolutely* concerning a Reall presence....." emphasis is mine. By excluding *absolutely*, Montague played down Morton's hesitation to find an essential common foundation in both English and Roman sacramental doctrine.
- ¹⁰³ A Second Parallel together with a Writ of Error Sued against the Appealer (London: Robert Milbourne, 1626), pp. 19-20. For a similar attack on Montague, see, S. Ward and J. Yates, A Dangerous Plot Discovered (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1626), p. 89.
- ¹⁰⁴ Considerationes, 2: 388.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 382.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 386-98.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 400-408. Others whom he included are John Buckeridge (Bishop of Rochester), Issac Casaubou, Bishop Bilson of Winchester, Christopher Sutton, George Synge, Archbishop de Dominis of Spalatro, Peter Pickerellus, and John Poinet.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 506. Morton's words are: "It would be a wonder to us to hear Any of our owne profession to be so extremely Indifferent, concerning the different opinions of the *Manner of the Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament*, as to thinke the Romish Sect therefore either *Tollerable* or *Reconciliable*, upon Pretence that the Question is only *De modo*, (that is) of the manner of Being, and that consequently all Controversie about this is but *vaine Iangling*". Of the Institution

of the Sacrament of the Blessed Bodie and Blood of Christ (London: W. Stansby for Robert Mylbourne, 1631), pp. 147-48.

¹⁰⁹Considerationes, 2: 506. On this issue, Forbes certainly diverged from Beza, who in 1572 had argued that since one could understand and perceive from the word of God what kind of presence of the body there is in the eucharist, one had to disagree with the "consubstantialists", whose teaching was diametrically opposed to the truth. Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodore Bezae Vezelij, 2nd. ed. (Geneva, 1575), pp. 310-11.

¹¹⁰Considerationes 2: 504.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²DNB, 19: 411.

¹¹³The principal prelate whom Calderwood had in mind was John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, friend and disciple of Andrewes. In his 1618 A Discourse Concerning Kneeling at the Communion (London: Iohn Bill), he had written, "The questions of curiositie *de modo*, of the maner of Christ's presence: of *con*, and *trans*, and *sub*, and *cum*, or *in*, and the like, which now vexe all Christendome, were not then in the early Church hatched, and simple faith then beleaved that God performed his word, without doubting or disputing", pp. 34-35. Calderwood also included Hooker and Sutton in his attack.

¹¹⁴David Calderwood, A Re-examination of the Five Articles Enacted at Perth anno 1618 (1636), pp. 97-98.

¹¹⁵DNB, 19: 411.

¹¹⁶A Re-examination, p. 98 [emphasis is mine]; supra, p. 117, ft. nt. 109.

¹¹⁷That he had these two theories of eucharistic presence in mind is clear from his words immediately before these passages. Ibid., p. 97.

¹¹⁸Works 2: 41-42.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 330.

¹²⁰Ibid. See also, Ridley, Works, p. 274 (1555 Examination).

¹²¹Works 2: 331.

¹²²Ibid., ft.nt. v. See also, Calvin, Institution, 4: 17: 31.

¹²³A Replie to a Relation of the Conference between William Laude and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite (1640), pp. 120-21.

¹²⁴Works, 3: 72. (A Summarie of Devotions Compiled and Used by Dr. William Laud, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, first published in 1667).

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 75.

¹²⁶So Laud referred to Andrewes in his Diary entry dated Sept. 25, 1626, on the day he heard of Andrewes' death. Ibid., p. 196.

¹²⁷For various meetings and co-operative activities between the two, see Laud's diary. Ibid., pp. 160-61, 163, 165-66, 187.

¹²⁸In his History of the Troubles and Trial, Laud recorded his borrowing of a form for consecrating churches and he acknowledged using the credence table as Andrewes had formerly done. Ibid., 4: 203, 210, 247.

¹²⁹Stanwood, A Collection of Private Devotions, p. xiv.

¹³⁰See Laud's Diary, Jan. 16, 1625. Works, 3: 178-79. For the letter itself, see, ibid., 6: 249.

¹³¹In response to the accusation of Romanizing, Laud appealed to Perkins: "Lastly, Mr. Perkins, in 'Reformed Catholic', sets down divers opinions in which they of Rome and we agree: shall he be a Papist for this? Or shall not that which is lawful for him, be as lawful for me?" (July 17, 1644.) Ibid., 4: 317.

¹³²Works, 9: 421.

¹³³Ibid., p. 423.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Frank Livingston Huntley, Jeremy Taylor and the Great Rebellion. A Study of His Mind and Temper in Controversy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 11. For another discussion of Laud's patronage, see C. J. Stranks, The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor (London: SPCK, 1952), pp. 41-53.

¹³⁶Taylor used a passage from "Garnet" concerning consecration in the Roman church, which he acknowledged having obtained from "a wise prelate, a great and good man, whose memory is precious, and is had in honour" (Works, 9: 104), a reference to Andrewes' Responsio (see, Andrewes, Works, RACB: 9).

¹³⁷Taylor, Works 1: lxxxix (Heber-Eden edition).

¹³⁸Thorndike, Works, 4: 35.

¹³⁹Ibid., pp. 24-25, 44-45.

¹⁴⁰See, e.g., Die Bekenntnisschriften, pp. 984, 1,007 (Konkordienformel, Solida Declaratio, VII); Martin Chemnitz, Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, de vera et substantiali praesentia, exhibitione, et sumptione corporis, & sanguinis Domini in Coena (Wittenberg: Clement. Berger. Zachar. Schürer, 1610), pp. 65, 77.

¹⁴¹This does not imply (as we shall later see) that Thorndike was a thorough-going Lutheran!

¹⁴²E. B. Pusey, for example, appealed to Andrewes (together with Archbishop Bramhall) as the source for his belief that the bread and wine become "in an ineffable way" the body and blood of Christ. From them, Pusey said, "I learnt also to withhold my thoughts as to the mode of this great mystery". Nine Sermons Preached Before the University of Oxford, and Printed Chiefly Between A.D. 1843-1855 (Oxford: J. H. Parker & J. Parker; London: J. & F. H. Rivington, 1855), pp. iv-v of The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent. Both in his treatise, The Articles Treated on in Tract 90 (1841) and in the appendix which he added to his sermon, The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent (1843), Pusey associated his own understanding of the eucharist and his refusal to engage in "rationalizing ways of explaining the *mode* of Divine mysteries "with statements from Andrewes, Forbes, Cosin, Laud and Taylor, which speak either of the incomprehensibility of the presence or of the difference between Anglican and Roman eucharistic teaching as consisting only of the *modus*. The Articles Treated on in Tract 90 Reconsidered and their Interpretation Vindicated in a Letter to the Rev. R. W. Jelf (Oxford & London: J. H. Parker, 1841), pp. 43, 49, 50, 56; Nine Sermons, pp. 36, 43, 57-59, 64, 68. The anonymous author of another Tractarian work, The Doctrine of the Catholic Church of England, who was eager to dissociate the English Church from the "Scotch Kirk" and the "so-called orthodox Protestant societies on the continent", and to defend "Catholic" doctrine within the Church of England, included in his list of citations passages from Andrewes, Forbes, Cosin and Laud, which contain the theme of inscrutibility with regard to the sacramental presence, or emphasize the manner as the real problem in the controversy with Rome. The Doctrine of the Catholic Church in England on the Holy Eucharist Illustrated by Extracts from her Great Divines (London, Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1841), pp. 3-7, 17, 22, 29. The inclination of these Tractarians was to dissociate the eucharistic teaching of the English Church from that of Protestantism, and in so doing, they presented a picture of the seventeenth-century Anglican divines as forerunners of their own understanding. For reasons very different from those of the Tractarians, Dugmore saw the seventeenth-century "High-church" party, which included Andrewes, Laud, Montague and Thorndike, as taking "refuge in the idea of a *mysterium tremendum*", which resulted in a "*cul de sac*" and "intellectual bankruptcy". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 51, 68, 79.

¹⁴³Chemnitz taught that the mode of Christ's presence in the eucharist could not be defined, but had to be committed to the power and wisdom of God. Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, pp. 65, 77.

¹⁴⁴Loci Theologici, 5: 95.

¹⁴⁵Politica Imperialia, p. 1,306.

¹⁴⁶An Explication and Assertion, pp. 35, 136.

¹⁴⁷Opera Omnia (Paris: Ludovicum Vives, 1870-1874), 1: 30.

¹⁴⁸In his 1542 Petit Traicté, Calvin had taught both the incomprehensibility of the eucharistic presence and had urged brotherliness and communion with the Lutherans, since both sides agreed on what was essential in the sacrament. *How* one was made a partaker in Christ's body and blood, he said, may be deduced and explained more clearly by

some than by others. The eucharist, however, was a "spiritual
mystery" which could not be comprehended by human understanding. CR,
33: 435, 439, 460.

III: SACRAMENTAL CHANGE

One way in which the Anglican Churchmen under consideration attempted positively to express Christ's presence in the eucharist was in terms of sacramental "change". The backdrop against which they developed this aspect of their teaching was the Roman definition of transubstantiation made in the previous century. Trent had decreed that by the consecration of the elements, a conversion was made of the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body, and of the whole substance of wine into the substance of His blood: ... *per consecrationem panis et vini conversione fieri totius substantiae panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiae vini in substantiam sanguinis eius.*¹

As with their eucharistic "apophaticism", the Caroline divines' discussions of "change" in the eucharist contained both a negation and an affirmation. Concerning the former, let it suffice to say that they unanimously rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation as an explanation of the eucharistic conversion. Against the Roman teaching they opposed the Scriptures, the early Fathers, and frequently the medieval schoolmen. Transubstantiation was for them not only an unnecessary theory, but a novel explanation of Christ's presence in the sacrament.² In this they were one with their sixteenth-century Protestant forbears both in England and on the continent,³ as well as with seventeenth-century Calvinist and Lutheran divines.⁴

If the Caroline theologians were unanimous in their rejection of the teaching of transubstantiation as an appropriate way to describe the eucharistic transformation, they were not united in their precise

evaluation of the Roman theory. At the beginning of the century, Saravia took what may be described as a "hardline" approach, in which he repudiated the Roman doctrine in a clear and unambiguous manner. The eucharist *as sacrament* requires or demands (*postulat*) true bread and wine, not images of them, just as baptism requires true water as its element. Both the bread and the body of Christ, he asserted, are essential to the sacrament: *Quum igitur istae partes sacramenti Coenae Domini sint essentielles, panis et Corpus Christi, vinum et Ipsius Sanguis...*⁵ This was in accord with the 1553 and 1571 Articles of Religion which had declared that transubstantiation was not only repugnant to scripture, but that it "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament".⁶ Earlier than this, Calvin, in his 1541 Petit Traicté (an English translation of which, it must be remembered, was made in 1548), asserted that the nature of the sacrament requires the existence of the earthly elements as signs:- *Seulement ie dys que la nature du Sacrement requirert cela, que le pain materiel demeure pour signe visible du corps.*⁷ - a position which he repeated in the Institution.⁸

Moreover, Saravia labelled the idea of accidents existing without their subject as *monstrum*,⁹ and understood transubstantiation as implying the impious conclusion that Christ's body goes into the stomach and then on to the dung-heap: *Nefanda quae hinc deducuntur de descensu in ventriculum et in sterquilinum contra Papicolas dici possunt:...*¹⁰ This specific and negative evaluation of the doctrine of transubstantiation accorded well with his general denunciation of the Roman mass, which he saw as the transformation of the biblical sacrament into a "foul idol", such that a Christian could not continue in fellowship with the Roman Church: *Romanistae hoc novum in carne et sanguine Domini nostri testamentum in foedum idolum totum transformatunt, adeo ut societatem*

*Christianam cum Ecclesia Romana, quae nunc est, liquido retinere pius nemo possit.*¹¹

Saravia's severe criticism of transubstantiation was similar to that which Calvin earlier had expressed (one must not forget Saravia's connection with the Reformed tradition; he, in fact, may have visited Calvin in Geneva¹²). In the *Petit Traicté de la Sainte Cene*, he called transubstantiation the second error which the devil had sown to corrupt the sacrament; this lie, he argued, had no foundation in Scripture, no evidence from the early Church and could not be reconciled or harmonised with God's Word:

*Le second erreur que le Diable a semé pour corrompre ce saint mystère, a esté en forgeant et inventant, que après les parolles prononcées avec intention de consacrer, le pain est transubstantié au corps de Christ et le vin en son sang. Ce mensonge, premièrement, n'a nul fondement de l'Ecriture, et n'a aucun tesmoignage de l'Eglise ancienne: et, qui plus est, ne peut nullement convenir ne subsister avec la parolle de Dieu.*¹³

In the *Institution*, Calvin had described transubstantiation as *fantastique* and *un tel monstre*.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, Saravia was following in the footsteps of the Genevan reformer with respect to his attitude toward the Roman theory of eucharistic change.

A few years after Saravia had penned his treatise, Andrewes expressed a somewhat different, one might even say 'liberal', attitude toward transubstantiation. As we have already seen, he argued against Cardinal Bellarmine that the eucharistic words of Christ could not be used to establish the specific manner of the presence of transubstantiation. Since there was no word from Christ, therefore, questions concerning manner should be removed from the level *de fide*, he asserted. Transubstantiation might be accepted as an opinion of the schools, but

should not be placed among the 'Articles of the Faith': *Et quia verbum nullum, merito a fide ablegamus procul: inter 'Scita Scholae' fortasse, inter 'Fides Articulos' non ponimus.*¹⁵ He rejected, however, the Roman theory as a necessary explanation and article of faith, a position not far removed from that of Hooker who seems to have relegated the question of transubstantiation to the level of insignificant speculation, rather than that of an evil or impossible doctrine.¹⁶

In addition, Andrewes pointed to a number of knotty questions which had produced unnecessary confusion in the Church with regard to the eucharist, such as: Is Christ present under His own quantity or under the quantity of bread? If He is there under His own quantity, is it a quantity without a quantitative mode? Is the substance of Christ there under the accidents? What is broken when the bread is broken? Can mice be nourished and worms produced from accidents? Does Christ both rest in the pyx and at the same time move elsewhere when the priest elevates the sacrament.¹⁷ Andrewes concluded this matter by stating that, while God made his sacrament straightforward and simple, the scholastics had confused themselves with endless questions: *Vere enim, de re tota dici potest, quod olim 'de Homine', Salomon: 'Deus fecit Sacramentum suum, rectum et simplex, Ipsi autem' (Scholastici scilicet) 'in finitis se miscuerunt Quaestionibus'.*¹⁸ His evaluation of transubstantiation was one which, while rejecting the theory on biblical and traditional grounds, and while pointing out the problems caused by such teaching, nevertheless, allowed the possibility of placing it among the 'opinions of the schools'.¹⁹ It was, however, a needless complication in understanding the sacrament and was not *de fide*.

In his early years, John Cosin also took a 'liberal' position over

against the Roman teaching. In his notes on the 1619 Prayer Book, he went so far as to intimate that there was no essential difference with Rome on this point. He began by insisting that Christ had instituted the eucharist with the materials of bread and wine, for which the Church did not accept any alternative (although he seemed to favour the ancient, and Roman, practice of mixing water with wine).²⁰ Then, he argued that the distinction between the outward sign and thing signified was something that Rome herself had never denied, appealing to the Spanish Jesuit Johannes Maldonatus, whose Disputatio Circa Septem Sacramenta was published in 1614 (after his death), and who, as G. J. Cuming puts it, "was as eagerly read in progressive circles as any work of de Chardin or Rahner today".²¹ Cosin's words are:

Neither need there any fault be found with our Church for this distinguishing the outward sign from the thing signified, the bread from the Body of Christ; for Maldonate affirms that the Church of Rome never said otherwise, de Sacram, p. 125: *Respondendum est, nos nunquam dicere, idem esse Sacramentum et rem significatam; nam Sacramentum vocamus signum quod videtur, rem significatam, Corpus Christi quod non videtur;* which approves our doctrine....²²

It seems, then, that Cosin saw no irreconcilable difficulty between transubstantiation and the teaching of the Church of England, having been led, perhaps, in this direction by Andrewes' 1610 Responsio.

Later in life, Cosin's attitude changed. At times, he seemed to show an indifference to the Roman theory, arguing that the manner of the eucharistic presence, whether by annihilation and transubstantiation or whether in, with or under the bread, "we are not tied to believe at all". In the final analysis, however, he did not admit transubstantiation because it would "destroy the nature of a mystery, whose nature it is not to be declared, or the manner of it unfolded to us".²³ He also asserted in his Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, written in 1656,

that the argument concerning God's power was irrelevant. That God is able to do more than man can think or comprehend is to be granted, as long as God is not charged with working contradictions. Even granting that He *can* destroy the substance of bread and wine, and *can* essentially change it into the body and blood of Christ while the accidents of bread and wine subsist in themselves without a subject, this does not mean that God wills to do so. That God can effect this kind of change is no proof that He does effect it in the sacrament.²⁴ In addition, Cosin maintained that the Roman doctrine, with its doctrine of accidents abstracted from their subject and subsisting in nothing, had more in common with the thinking of the ancient heretic Marcion than with ancient Catholic teaching.²⁵ It would better support the Eutychian heresy than the teaching of orthodox antiquity.²⁶ The transubstantiationists, he charged, change the creature into the Creator, substances into accidents, accidents into substances, and whatever they like into whatever they like: *Sed transubstantiatoribus licet (nobis non equidem) creaturam in Creatorem, substantias in accidentia, accidentia in substantias, quodlibet in quidlibet, permutare.*²⁷ They are unable to distinguish a sacramental and mystical presence from their own carnal and natural presence of Christ (*a carnali et naturali Christi praesentia*).²⁸ Moreover, they have decreed this *crassam et carnalem praesentiam*²⁹ to be an article of faith and absolutely necessary to salvation.³⁰

If one were willing to describe the eucharistic elements as types, signs, figures, etc., of the body and blood, as did the ancient Fathers, it would be impossible to assert that they are transubstantiated, Cosin argued. To say that the bread is transubstantiated into the body and is also the type and figure of the body is inconsistent, since it is impossible that something which ceases to be (*quae desiit esse*) can be

a figure or symbol of something else; nor is it possible for something to be a type or sign of itself.³¹

Once transubstantiation became established within the Church, Cosin argued, it became a foundation for superstition and errors and inextricable questions. It gave rise to a new adoration of the sacrament, illusions, false miracles and feigned visions. There also arose impious questions, such as: Is it the body of Christ which sometimes appears in the form of flesh or of a child in the host on the altar? Can mice and other animals eat the body of Christ itself? Can mice and worms be nourished and gendered on accidents? Does the body of Christ simultaneously move upward and downward while one priest lifts up the sacrament and another puts it down?³² The doctrine of transubstantiation had also been the occasion for the abuse and profanation by wicked priests, Jews, Turks and sorcerers of what they thought to be the body of Christ. Cosin, then, asked whether anyone could be persuaded that Christ would give the presence of His body and blood in such a manner that it can come into the hands of the infidels, that it can be eaten by dogs and rats, and that it can be vomited up, burnt, cast into sinks and used for magical poisons and witchcraft.³³

This later "hardline" attitude toward transubstantiation may have been influenced by Taylor's The Real Presence, which was published in 1654 (see, p. 136), and by Calvin's teaching, which Cosin had begun to see in a new light. By 1646, after his exile to France, Cosin's previous animosity toward the Calvinists had changed; he no longer viewed Calvinism as entirely bad.³⁴ By the time he had written Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, the change was even more remarkable. Now he described Calvin as a teacher whose words were "so conformable to the style and mind of the Fathers, that no Catholic reformer would wish to

use any other" (*cujus verba... talia sunt, et priscorum patrum stylo ac menti tam convenientia, ut reformatorum Catholicorum nemo aliis uti desideraret*)!³⁵

Evaluations of the Roman teaching as impious, superstitious, monstrous, evil, dangerous or impossible/also had roots in sixteenth-century Puritan attitudes. In his 1547 An Answer to the Bishop of Winchester's Book, John Hooper, for example, wrote:

The mother of this idolatry was Rome, and the father unknown. A bastard is this transubstantiation doubtless. Lanfrancus [1020 A.D. made Abp. of Canterbury and opposed Berengar], that enemy of truth and true religion, that wrote against Berengarius, Paschasius, Guymundus, Guydo Aretinus, Algerus Monachus Corbeiensis, Adelmanus Episcopus, Hugo, *et his recentiores* Lombertus, Comestor, *et* Papa Innocentius, with others begat this wicked woman, transubstantiation... A wondrous matter and an horrible practice of the devil, that contrary unto the scripture and unto the old fathers this mystery is happened unto the sacrament.....³⁶

"The doctrine of transubstantiation", the Puritan William Perkins taught, /in the next century, "is a very fable".³⁷ Richard Crakanthorp continued this theme/when in 1625 he insisted that transubstantiation was "impossible", "absurd", "groundless" and the cause of a false and idolatrous cult in the Roman Church.³⁸

Writing about the same time as Crakanthorp, Montague also rejected transubstantiation as wrong, but did so in a somewhat milder manner. On the one hand, he used very strong language to describe transubstantiation, that "monster of monsters".³⁹ His steadfast opposition to the theory is attested to by the memoirs of Gregory Panzani, a priest of the Oratory sent to England from Rome in 1634.⁴⁰ According to Panzani, Montague and he held three conferences during which Montague had said that the two archbishops, the Bishop of London, several others of the

episcopal order, himself and a large number of the clergy were prepared "to fall in with Rome as to a supremacy *purely spiritual*".⁴¹ Moreover, he had "solemnly declared, that both he and many of his brethren were prepared to conform themselves to the method and discipline of the Gallican church, where the civil rights were well guarded".⁴² The one point, however, on which Montague had expressed difficulty with accepting Roman teaching was the doctrine of transubstantiation: "That, for his own part, he knew no tenet of the church of Rome to which he was not willing to subscribe, unless it were the article of *Transubstantiation*, which word, he had reason to think, was invented by Pope Innocent III after the council of Lateran was risen".⁴³ While these memoirs may not be accepted as the eyewitness accounts of an impartial observer, they are, nevertheless, valuable, precisely because they may tend to put more concessions into Montague's mouth than he himself would have made. The author⁴⁴ witnessed to the aversion which Montague had for transubstantiation even in the most reconciliatory context.

On the other hand, Montague seemed to suggest that transubstantiation was more useless and bothersome than impious or evil and that was why the English Church condemned the Lateran Council's definition:

Therefore we wonder, why the world should be so much amused at, and distracted with, those unexplicable Labyrinths of Con-substantiation and Trans-substantiation, which onely serve to set the world in division; nothing to piety, nor yet information. As we therefore condemn that presumptuous definition of Trans-substantiation, in the Laterane Councell: so wee doo not like nor yeeld assent to that jejune and macilent conceit of Zwinglius.....⁴⁵

No one denied a "*change, an alteration, a transmutation, a transelementation*", Montague argued, but one should be content with "*That it is, and doe not seeke nore define How it is so: and we shall not contest or contend with you*", he argued against his Roman opponent.⁴⁶ "*Trans or*

Con, we skill not of".⁴⁷ For this "tolerance" toward transubstantiation he was, as we have already seen, attacked as having abandoned the teaching of the Church of England (supra, pp. 98-99). Montague also claimed that the Roman Church, despite her errors, had remained upon the "same foundation of sacraments and doctrines instituted by God" as did the Church of England.⁴⁸ It was argued in the 1626 Articles Exhibited by the Commons in Parliament that this was opposed to the twenty-eighth article of the Articles of Religion, which declared that transubstantiation overthrew the nature of a sacrament.⁴⁹ While these Puritan attacks were by their nature polemical interpretations of Montague's teaching, they were accurate inasmuch as they pointed to an abatement or moderation in Montague's evaluation of the transubstantiationist theory. In this he re-echoed the teaching of Andrewes, whose Responsio he knew (supra, p. 98).

Montague's position also bears resemblance to certain Lutheran ideas. Luther himself, for example, regarded the Roman sacrament as being a true sacrament, despite the errors of the papal church (1534).⁵⁰ Moreover, he rejected the discussion about transubstantiation as a useless and sophistical dispute, but was not overly concerned about whether anybody else believed it or not (1543 letter to a reforming group in Venice).⁵¹ This mild critique of transubstantiation was continued by later Lutherans. Chemnitz in his Examinis affirmed a conversion or mutation of the elements, but bemoaned the fact that the medieval schools had begun to debate the *manner* of this change, which was determined only at the fourth Lateran Council.⁵² He rejected transubstantiation for a number of reasons but refrained from attacking it as evil, impious or impossible.⁵³

There is no direct evidence that Lutheran theology was a source of Montague's ideas. Yet, in his discussion concerning predestination in

Appello Caesarem, he made clear that *in principle* there was no reason to favour Calvinist divines over Lutherans:

IOHN CALVIN came after in time, and was but a secondary unto MARTIN LUTHER; entering in upon his labours and reversions: and why should he challenge any priviledge of preferment above MARTIN LUTHER that I may not as well & lawfully declare myself for the one, as for the other? Why not? consent with the *Lutherans*, rigid or mollified, in some things against the *Calvinists*; What if I went so far; or did so much declare myself⁵⁴ to favour the *Lutherans* against YOUR Divines?

Perhaps in his evaluation of transubstantiation, Montague did just that!

Forbes was another representative of the "liberal" attitude toward, and evaluation of, transubstantiation. Certain Protestants, he argued, very perilously and rashly denied that God is able to convert substantially the bread into the body of Christ. God is capable of doing many things above the understanding of man: *Quod ad Transsubstantiationem attinet, admodum periculose et nimis audacter negant multi Protestantes, Deum posse panem substantialiter in corpus Domini convertere. Multa enim potest Deus omnipotens facere supra captum omnium hominum, imo et angelorum.*⁵⁵

One must be careful not to set limits on God and to deny that he can do this or that by His omnipotence, Forbes wrote *magnae profecto temeritatis est propter caecae mentis nostrae imbecillitatem, Deo limites praescribere, et praefracite negare omnipotentia sua illum hoc vel illud facere posse.*⁵⁶ Perhaps one of the "many Protestants" whom Forbes had in mind was the Puritan Richard Crakanthorp, whom, as we have seen, had argued in 1625 not only that transubstantiation was wrong, but that it was *impossible*.⁵⁷

The best attitude, according to Forbes, was that of the Lutheran divines in their confession to the Council of Trent in 1551 in which they

affirmed that the power of God can either annihilate the substance of bread and wine or change them into the body and blood of Christ. That God exercises this power in the eucharist, however, does not seem to be taught certainly by the Word of God and appears to have been unknown to the early Church.⁵⁸

Forbes' tolerant attitude found support not only in the position upheld by Andrewes, Montague, and other English divines,⁵⁹ but also in what he understood to be the opinion of the Eastern Orthodox. Transubstantiation had been believed for several centuries by the faithful of the Latin West, but it was also defended in the Greek Church, he asserted. The more recent Greeks, such as Nicetas, Euthymius, Nicholas of Methone, Samonas of Gaza, Nicholas Cabasilas, Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion, *apertissime Transsubstantiationem confitentur*.⁶⁰ The question at the Council of Florence between the Latins and the Greeks did not concern whether the bread is substantially changed, but by what words it changed (the words of Christ or the prayer of the priest and Church).⁶¹ The Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, in his commentary on the *Augustanna*, taught that, with regard to the eucharist, the Orthodox Church affirms that after the consecration and benediction, the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, yet not in such a manner as if the body descends from heaven, but by the species being transformed and changed (*transformatis et transmutatis: μεταποιούμενον καὶ μεταβαλλομένον*) by the grace of the Holy Spirit.⁶² The Venetian Greeks in their answers to the questions of the Cardinal of Guise affirmed that they believed not only that the bread is changed into Christ's body, but that this occurs in such a way that neither the bread nor the accidents of its substance remains, but are transelementated into a divine substance (*sed in divinam substantiam transelemententur*).⁶³

Forbes also appealed to a personal conversation which he had with the Orthodox bishop of Syrrachium, whom he understood as affirming transubstantiation and endeavouring to defend it from St. Chrysostom.⁶⁴ While Patriarch Cyril Lukaris taught a doctrine of eucharistic presence *per omnia fere ad mentem Calvini*,⁶⁵ it was certain, Forbes argued, that the more recent Greeks were not, and are not, altogether alien from the belief in transubstantiation.⁶⁶ The reason and purpose behind Forbes' assertion that the Eastern Orthodox Church had also held to, or had permitted to be held, the doctrine of transubstantiation, at least in her later writers, was in order to enable him to appeal to this large body of Christians against those who would condemn transubstantiation as a heresy or a deadly error: *Hosce autem omnes Christianae pietatis cultores, haereseos aut erroris exitialis damnare, magnae profecto est audaciae et temeritatis.*⁶⁷

Forbes also found support in the tolerant attitude toward transubstantiation found in the writings of Luther and Chemnitz. In De Captivitate Babylonica (1520), Luther admitted that the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas concerning transubstantiation was free to be believed without any peril to salvation. Whether the substance of bread remains or not does not involve any necessity of faith. Luther's concern was to remove the charge of heresy against those who maintained that bread remains on the altar.⁶⁸ This same indifference to the question of the bread remaining was repeated by Luther in his 1523 treatise addressed to the Waldensian Brethren and in his 1528 Confessione Majore, Forbes argued.⁶⁹ He offered, moreover, a disclaimer regarding any other opinion in Luther's writings which might differ from this one: *Lutheri vero inconstantiam in aliis scriptis non excuso.*⁷⁰ He also cited Chemnitz, who in his Examinis, after having raised the question of why

one should fight about whether the substance of bread remains or not, answered by stating that bread is certainly not of equal importance as the body of Christ. Because transubstantiation was propounded as an article of faith under pain of anathema, however, it had to be withstood.⁷¹

As can be seen, Forbes was interested in using Orthodox and Lutheran theologians, not in order to justify transubstantiation, but to show that it was not an essential barrier to the resolution of the eucharistic controversy. The Roman opinion might not be true and it might not be based on Scripture or the Fathers, but it ought not to be condemned as heretical, impious or directly repugnant to the Faith.⁷²

Laud, another member of this "liberal" school, attacked Cardinal Bellarmine's explanation of eucharistic conversion as *adductiva* rather than *conservativa* or *productiva*.⁷³ This position Laud described as an "intricate, tedious, an almost inexplicable discourse about an 'adductive conversion', a thing which neither divinity nor philosophy ever heard of till then".⁷⁴ Such conversion would in fact be no conversion at all, he argued, but a mere "translocation" of the pre-existent body of Christ to be under the species of bread, a charge which Bellarmine himself had acknowledged others to have made against him.⁷⁵ Such a *conversio adductiva* was not to be found in the writings of any "good author".⁷⁶ Apart from this main error in Bellarmine's teaching on eucharistic presence, there were according to Laud two other prominent mistakes. The first is that the body of Christ in the sacrament is *non ut in loco, sed ut substantia sub accidentibus*.⁷⁷ Laud challenged Bellarmine or Fisher to give one instance in which a bodily substance under accidents is, or can be, anywhere and yet not "as in some place".⁷⁸

The second error occurred when Bellarmine appealed to various Fathers for support of his language of conversion by adduction. He cited St. Bonaventure as stating, *In transubstantiatione fit, ut quod erat alicubi, sine sui mutatione fit alibi.*⁷⁹ Laud argued that there was nothing here which "can be drawn with cart-ropes to prove conversion by adduction"; if there was conversion, there had to be change, and Bonaventure asserted that transubstantiation occurred without change of the body. Laud, then, asked how a body which is in one place, or elsewhere (*alicubi*), can be in another place (*alibi*) without "change of itself"; how could this be called transubstantiation, rather than translocation. Even Bellarmine's expression, *Panis transit in corpus Christi*, was for the Archbishop "a very sour consequence - should a man squeeze it".⁸⁰

Laud's rejection of transubstantiation, particularly as interpreted by Bellarmine, is clear, yet it has been suggested that "he appears to have accepted the positive doctrine which the more theologically minded advocates of Transubstantiation had at heart".⁸¹ Whether this interpretation of Laud's teaching is altogether correct or not, it does point to a certain moderation in Laud's assessment of transubstantiation. After having appealed for peace on the basis that "all sides agree in the faith of the Church of England", like Hooker before him, he then suggested that Rome (as well as the Lutherans) simply added a "manner of this His presence".⁸² Moreover, Bellarmine's statement "that the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is substantial, but after a secret and ineffable manner, and not like in all things to any natural conversion whatsoever",⁸³ would be acceptable "if he had left out 'conversion', and affirmed only Christ's 'real presence' there, after a mysterious, and indeed an ineffable, manner, no

man could have spoken better".⁸⁴ Here Laud seems to have suggested that transubstantiation is an unfortunate and unnecessary explanation of the real presence, rather than an evil corruption, idolatrous or impious doctrine. At one point in his Conference with Fisher, Laud, in fact, described the Roman teaching, like Andrewes before him, as an opinion, (albeit an improbable one) which had been made into an article of faith: "And [there are] imposed upon Learned men, disputed and improbable Opinions, *Transubstantiation*, Purgatorie, and *Forbearance of the Cup* in the blessed Eucharist, even against the expresse Command of our Saviour, and that for *Articles of Faith*".⁸⁵ For this 'liberal' notion, H. Burton attacked Laud in 1640:

And sometimes a thing that is *improbable*, may prove true. For *Improbable* is not alwayes *falsum*. It may seem *improbable* to us, and yet be *true* in itselfe. But for *transubstantiation*: Is that which is clearly against *Faith*, against *Reason*, against *the nature of Christ's Body naturall*, against *the nature of the Sacrament*, but an improbable opinion?⁸⁶

Laud, in Burton's mind, had conceded too much toward the Roman theory by relegating it to the level of "improbable opinions"!

Taylor, however, was not nearly so lenient toward transubstantiation. He described it in his 1654 The Real Presence as an "evil doctrine, false and dangerous".⁸⁷ He pointed in this treatise, as Andrewes had previously done,⁸⁸ to its ambiguous character, a charge which he reiterated ten years later in his A Dissuasive from Popery, Part I,⁸⁹ where he also pointed to "horrid and blasphemous questions" which sometimes were discussed concerning the sacrament, such as: If a priest goes past a baker's shop and with the right intention repeats the consecration, does all the bread in the shop become the body of Christ? Does a church mouse eat her Maker if she eats a consecrated host? Is it

true that the priest in some sense becomes the creator of God Himself?⁹⁰

In a 1657 letter to "A Gentleman that was Tempted to the Communion of Rome", he described transubstantiation as a putting off of "your reason, and your sense, and your religion, and all the instruments of credibility".⁹¹

In his 1667 A Dissuasive from Popery, Part II, Taylor intensified this, claiming: "But we hope it may be sufficient to say, 1. That what the Church of Rome teaches of transubstantiation, is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many; to the belief of which no faith can oblige us, and no reason can endure."⁹²

In his evaluation of transubstantiation, Taylor was far removed from the 'liberalism' of men such as Andrewes, Montague and Laud, whose books, nonetheless, he still recommended in 1660 (supra, p. 104). His 1654 The Real Presence may have influenced Cosin's Historia Transubstantiationis in this "hard-line" direction.

Sharp and severe denunciations of the Roman doctrine had roots both in the continental and English Reformed 'true' presence tradition. Among the books which Taylor recommended in 1660 are those by several continental Reformed divines. One of these, A Defence of the Catholicke Faith (1610), by Pierre du Moulin, bitterly denounced transubstantiation as a "grosse erreur" contrary to the "glory of our Saviour" and which "doth overthrow and abolish the humanity of our Saviour, and by consequent all our faith".⁹³ Whatever his attitude might have been in his earlier days during his association with Laud, by the time of the *Interregnum*, Taylor's denunciation of transubstantiation was not less severe than that of the Puritans (supra, p. 128) and he stood solidly in the stream of Calvin, Hooper and other Reformed divines.

In the writings of Herbert Thorndike, the 'liberal' position again found expression. In discussing the use of the word "sacramentally" used by the Council of Trent, Thorndike argued that it did not imply "the abolishing of the elements"⁹⁴ and it was no less appropriate a designation because it was used by the Roman theologians "to signify the local presence of Christ's Body and Blood under the dimensions of the elements, the substance of them being gone".⁹⁵ Moreover, he refused to allow that the sacrament of Christ's body and blood could be rightly understood when the sign and the thing signified were said to "be both the same subject", i.e., "the dimensions of the elements [sic] being become the dimensions of Christ's Body and Blood" with all the bodily accidents of the bread and wine "subsisting in the same".⁹⁶

Admitting that the "elements are really changed, translated, turned, and converted into the Body and Blood of Christ", Thorndike argued that, properly speaking, transubstantiation was opposed to this change. Wherever change takes place, he maintained, something of the subject which is changed ought to remain, even though it is not sensible. In transubstantiation, however, "the whole subject" of the body and blood of Christ is thought to be substituted "instead of bread and wine, under their dimensions and accidents". This implies "the absolute ceasing of them to be" and the body and blood beginning to be, although not absolutely, under their dimensions. Therefore, he concluded, no subject for the change remains, with the accidents remaining unchanged and "the substance of the terms having nothing common, to bear the passion of that change which must be attributed to it".⁹⁷

Moreover, Thorndike argued against the separation of accidents and substances, which, he claimed, are "not distinguishable by common sense".

It is a philosophically disputable question whether the "quantity" and the "matter" are the same thing, and whether apart from the matter and the accidents with which it is invested there is a "substantial form".⁹⁸ The Romans may claim that everything which belongs to the "nature" of the elements remains under the accidents, but, Thorndike asked, how will they respond to the position which "our philosophy schools" maintain, i.e., "there are no substantial forms of material substances", but when something is named by its accidents *in concreto* (white, bitter, heavy, etc.), "the very form and substance of it" has been named.⁹⁹

Thorndike's attack on transubstantiation, however, contained a limitation. If the Tridentine decree "could possibly be expounded to signify only the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood" effected by the consecration, then what need would there be to condemn those who believe the substance of bread to remain, he asked. Scripture, tradition and reason, Thorndike argued in his Epilogue, do not make the bodily presence of the bread to be inconsistent with the sacramental presence of the flesh and blood.¹⁰⁰ Here one sees what seems to be a willingness on the part of Thorndike to accept the term "transubstantiation" if it is explicated without the corollary of abolishing the substance of the elements. Moreover, transubstantiation might be an error, he stated, but it is a "flea-bite" in comparison with the various errors of the "Congregations and Presbyteries". The Roman Christian, while "afraid to think that the elements remain", is not rendered incapable of the "Spirit of God conveyed by the Body and Blood of our Lord in the sacrament".¹⁰¹ It is evident, then, that while Thorndike did not accept the Roman explanation of the manner of eucharistic presence, he did not regard this teaching as destroying or inhibiting the presence of Christ's flesh in the eucharistic celebration, such as he at times regarded memorialism as doing (supra, p. 86). This

tolerant view of transubstantiation may well have been influenced by the earlier Hooker-Andrewes-Montague-Forbes-Laud strand of thinking in this matter. (Forbes' treatise had just been published the year before Thorndike's Epilogue.) Thorndike's tolerant position also had a great deal in common with the attitude of various sixteenth-century Lutherans, which we have already discussed (supra, pp. 133-34), and as we saw in the last chapter, Thorndike was not unaware of the Lutheran eucharistic traditions.

Despite the various ways in which the Caroline churchmen rejected transubstantiation as an appropriate description of eucharistic change, they, nevertheless, acknowledged that a change *did* take place in the sacrament. In De Sacra Eucharistia, Saravia discussed the change of bread and wine at which the Fathers marvelled (*Hanc tantam panis et vini mutationem Patres admirati sunt et magnificis verbis ornavunt*¹⁰²) in terms of what is added to them. They are enabled to be the food of man for eternal life because together with the flesh and blood of Christ they make up one sacrament:

*Quamvis enim vini panisque substantia mutata non sit, et maneat panis quod erat ante, similiter et vinum, habent tamen quod antea non habebant, ut hominem pascant in vitam aeternam, quod cum solius Carnis pro nobis immolatae et Sanguinis fusi sit proprium, panis et vino tribui non posset, nisi unum Sacramentum cum Domini Carne et Sanguine constituerent.*¹⁰³

The change which happens to the bread, he argued, is not a change of substance, but of quality (*mutatio qualitatis*), because when common bread becomes the body of Christ earthly things become divine things, sacramentally, not naturally: *Quando enim panis, qui prius erat communis, fit sacrum Christi Corpus, et vinum Sanguis, res terrenae fiunt Res Divinae: non quidem natura, sed Sacramento.*¹⁰⁴ The bread, then, has

the weight or authority (*pondus*) and the likeness (*instar*) of the crucified body of Christ.¹⁰⁵ It is a change of accidents (*mutatio accidentis*) which comes upon the bread and wine by divine ordinance (*quod ordinatione Divina supervenit pani et vino*).¹⁰⁶ God is capable of working in the bread and wine in such a way that, while they remain what they were, they become sacramentally what they were not, i.e., the body and blood of Christ: *Eum qui verbo Suo hoc potuit, posse etiam operari in pane et vino, manentibus quod erant, ut sint Sacramentaliter Corpus et Sanguis Ipsius, quod ante non erant.*¹⁰⁷ It is only God Himself, Saravia added, who can effect this *admiranda et divina mutatio*, just as only He could make circumcision to be the covenant, bestow on the Ark the honour and reverence due to His divine presence, and enable baptismal water to wash the soul when it touches the body.¹⁰⁸ By no means is it to be denied that Saravia held a certain "dynamic" element within his understanding of the eucharistic change; the body and blood are given by those things subject to the senses, he argued: *Quando sacramenta sumimus, rebus sensibilibus, pane et vino, Corpus et Sanguis Christi nobis traditur; ...*¹⁰⁹ This, however, is possible only because the heavenly things are united with the outward signs to make up one sacrament: ... *quod nunquam vere dici possit nisi cum signis externis Res coelestes unitae essent, et unum Sacramentum constituerent.*¹¹⁰ Here one sees an emphasis on sacrament as object, as *res*, distinct from sacrament as action. The eucharistic change affects the elements by uniting them to Christ's body and blood. They are then capable of communicating this body and blood to the communicant.

This interpretation of eucharistic change in terms of the union between bread and the body of Christ resembles that understanding found among some sixteenth-century Lutherans. Luther, for example, in a 1528

sermon on the Catechism taught that the eucharist is bread and wine joined to the Word, changed into the body and blood of Christ:

*Eucharistia est Panis et vinum verbo coniunctum, mutatum in corpus et sanguinem Christi.*¹¹¹

Chemnitz gave one of the clearest defences of this understanding of eucharistic transformation in his *Examinis*, where he argued that when the Word comes to the element, it does not

annihilate the element, but makes it a sacrament: *Verbum enim accedens ad elementum, non annihilat elementum sed facit sacramentum.*¹¹²

The Lutherans understand, he asserted, a sacramental change, such that, what before was only common bread and ordinary wine, is, when Christ's Word comes to it, no longer merely bread and wine, but at the same time the body and blood of Christ, which are present, set forth and received:

*Haec certe magna, miraculosa, & vere divina est mutatio, cum antea simpliciter tantum esset vulgaris panis & commune poculum: quod iam post benedictionem, cum pane & vino illo, vere, & substantialiter adest, exhibetur, & accipitur corpus & sanguis Christi.*¹¹³

Similarly, he argued that, when the ancients spoke of transformation and conversion of bread and wine in the eucharist, they did not mean that their substance or nature ceases to be or is changed, but that at the same time there are present, set forth and received the body and blood of Christ:

*Veteres dicunt in Eucharistia fieri mutationem seu conversionem panis et vini. Hoc Pontificii interpretantur de annihilatione & transsubstantiatione elementorum, nos mutationem Sacramentalem intelligimus, cum scilicet antea tantum esset communis panis, & vulgare vinum, quod accedente verbo Christi, non solum panis & vinum, sed simul etiam ibi in Eucharistia corpus & sanguis Christi adsit, exhibeatur, & sumatur.*¹¹⁴

There is no direct evidence that Saravia knew these works of Luther and Chemnitz. He did, however, acknowledge that he had read the eucharistic writings of certain Lutheran *Germaniae theologi*,¹¹⁵ one of which could well have been Chemnitz, who was a leading divine within

German Lutheranism. Moreover, at one point in *De Sacra Eucharistia*, he stated that he wished that all those theologians who agreed "in substance" would also employ "the same words as used by that great servant of God, Martin Luther".¹¹⁶ However Saravia arrived at his position with regard to eucharistic change, he certainly was working with ideas within the orbit of Lutheran thinking.

Andrewes also discussed the sacramental conversion in such a way as to suggest that this alteration concerns not only the use to which the elements are put, but what the elements *are*. While he rejected transubstantiation, he did not deny the appropriateness of the preposition *trans*, and he affirmed that the elements are changed: *At et nos praepositionem ibi 'trans' non negamus: et 'transmutari elementa' damus.*¹¹⁷ In his argument against Bellarmine, Andrewes admitted the patristic language of change, going so far as to accept St. Ambrose's statement that consecrated bread is not bread formed according to nature, but is consecrated by blessing and is thus changed: *... neque nos, 'elementum benedictione mutari', contradicimus: ut panis jam consecratus 'non sit panis, quem natura formavit; sed, quem benedictio consecravit', et consecrando etiam immutavit.*¹¹⁸ Similarly, he claimed that the Church of England believed with St. Gregory of Nyssa that by virtue of the blessing the nature of bread and wine is changed, but is not transubstantiated: *Et nos, cum Nysseno credimus, 'virtute benedictionis, panis et vini naturam immutari', nec tamen vel ipse, vel nos 'transubstantiari'.*¹²⁰

If the eucharistic change did not imply for Andrewes a change of the elements' substance, and yet did imply a certain change in the elements' nature, how did he understand this to occur? The answer lies in his response to Bellarmine's interpretation of pseudo-Cyprian's words, *Panis*

... *non effigie, sed natura mutatus omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*
 ... as meaning *Naturam, id est substantiam, mutari dicit; et effigiem,*
*id est accidentia, non mutari.*¹²¹ Andrewes could not accept this
 equating of nature with substance, and argued that when the almighty
 power of the word comes, nature is changed, so that what before was a
 bare element is made into a divine sacrament: *Accedente enim verbi*
omnipotentia, naturam mutari, ut quod ante nudum elementum erat, divinum
*jam fiat Sacramentum, manente tamen, quae prius fuit, substantia.*¹²²

He accused Bellarmine of breaking off abruptly the words of pseudo-
 Cyprian which compared this change to the union of humanity and divinity
 in Christ: *Docent hoc quae statim sequuntur verba; et, quae pars sunt*
eiusdem periodi, et a vobis semper, non sine fraude, praecisa, 'Et Sicut
in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita
*Sacramento visibili divina se infudit essentia'.*¹²³ The union between
 the visible sacrament and the invisible *res* of the sacrament is like the
 union which occurred between the humanity and divinity in Christ. This
 must be admitted, Andrewes argued, unless one wished to be accused of
 Eutychianism: *Ea nempe conjunctio inter Sacramentum visibile, et rem*
Sacramenti invisibilem, quae inter humanitatem et divinitatem Christi,
ubi, nisi Eutychen sapere vultis, humanitas in divinitatem non transub-
*stantiatur.*¹²⁴ Andrewes' point was that the nature of the eucharistic
 bread is changed by virtue of its conjunction with the body of Christ,
 just as human nature was changed by virtue of its conjunction with the
 divinity of Christ in the incarnation. His discussion of sacramental
 conversion concerned *what happens to the elements of bread and wine*
themselves, rather than the use in which they are employed. They are
 changed inasmuch as they are no longer only bread and wine, but are also
 Christ's body and blood. One might call this a "unifying"

understanding of sacramental change.

Andrewes' way of speaking about the conversion, like that of Saravia, has features in common with that strand of sixteenth-century Lutheran thinking following Luther. While he did not explicitly appeal to Lutheran sources (and what seventeenth-century Anglican divine setting out publicly to defend the teaching of the Church of England would!), a similarity of thought with the teaching of Chemnitz is discernible. There is no positive evidence that Andrewes knew Chemnitz' writings in 1610,¹²⁵ but there is some evidence which suggests that by 1629 he was familiar with the Examinis.¹²⁶ If Andrewes did in fact know this work, he could have been familiar with, and influenced by, Chemnitz' thinking already in 1610. This may help to explain why he did not develop the idea of eucharistic change in terms of *use*, as some of his sixteenth-century English forbears had done (supra, pp. 29, 40, 42, 43, 47, 48).¹²⁷

Turning to Cosin in his early years, one finds a similar conception of the eucharistic conversion. In his first series of notes on the 1619 Prayer Book, he commented that "Before consecration, we called them God's creatures of bread and wine, now we do so no more after consecration".¹²⁸ The practice of the Church of England was better in this regard than that of the Church of Rome, which continued to refer to them as creatures after consecration. And yet, Cosin taunted, "they will be upbraiding us for denying the real presence, when - as we believe better than they".¹²⁹ The reason for the English practice was that:

... after consecration we think no more of bread and wine, but have our thoughts taken wholly up with the Body of Christ; and therefore we keep ourselves to these words only, abstaining from the other, (though the bread remain there still to the eye,) which they do not. And herein we follow the fathers, who after consecration would

not suffer it to be called bread and wine
any longer, but the Body and Blood of Christ.¹³⁰

There is very little to distinguish this passage from a sophisticated interpretation of transubstantiation. Even Cosin's phrase, "though the bread remain there still to our eyes" is not opposed to the Roman teaching. As we have already seen (supra, p. 125), Cosin argued that Maldonatus had acknowledged that even Rome distinguished between the sign and the thing signified. However close he came to the Roman theory, Cosin failed to make the positive identification of the eucharistic change as one of "substance", and he refused to accept a "desition of the nature and being" of the bread and wine.¹³¹ Nonetheless, this is far more than a change in terms of use. The change concerns the elements themselves - a presence in them (as we shall see in the next chapter) - what we have called a "unifying" change. The teaching of Andrewes may have been the immediate Anglican impetus behind Cosin's thinking in this matter. His 1610 Responsio, with which Cosin was undoubtedly familiar given its notoriety, may well have encouraged him to think along the lines in which he did, towards an understanding of change in terms of what is added to the earthly elements. Andrewes' relatively tolerant view of transubstantiation may have encouraged Cosin to an even more positive appraisal of the theory as it found expression in Maldonatus' teaching.

Cosin's understanding of eucharistic conversion, however, underwent significant modifications, undoubtedly related to his exile in France, his friendship with Reformed pastors there, and his more positive appraisal of Calvinism.¹³² In the 1647 tract on transubstantiation, he put forward a clearly defined exposition of sacramental change as one of "the virtue, the condition, the office, the use, the dignitie of the Bread".¹³³ To say that the nature of the elements is changed does not

mean that they have lost their "substance" or their "substantial properties and conditions". It does mean, however:

... that it receiveth a new supernaturall condition, and a new superadded dignitie, which it had not before, to become the mysticall symbole, and the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body. And this change in the Bread is wrought only by the Almighty power of His word, because He only can adde and give unto it this dignitie, power, and efficacie, that is, that it may be not only a signe, but also an efficacious instrument of exhibiting Christ's Body, and conferring grace to the faithfull.¹³⁴

Cosin continued this understanding in his Historia Transubstantionis Papalis, possibly further encouraged in this direction by Taylor's 1654 The Real Presence, which he obtained for (and which still remains in) his library. Cosin denied any substantial change, but affirmed a "sacramental" alteration, in which the external elements receive the name of that which they represent, being changed in such a way as to retain the nature of their substance.¹³⁵ This change, he argued, is *vere magna* and *supernaturalis*, but is a change concerning the state and condition (*status ac conditio*) of the elements, not their substance or their proper essence.¹³⁶ The Greek patristic terms, μεταβολή, μεταποίησις and μεταστοιχείωσις, and the Latin terms, *conversio*, *mutatio*, *transmutatio*, *transfiguratio* and *transelementatio*, when applied to the eucharist do not imply transubstantiation; nor do they imply any more essential or substantial change than occurs to man in baptism, to the body in the resurrection, to the human nature in its assumption into the person of Christ, or in the sanctification of the Christian.¹³⁷ The eucharistic change, effected by grace, makes the bread and wine become certain and assured symbols of the body and blood, and thus pledges of justification and redemption.¹³⁸ This conversion, similar to changes occurring in other sacraments, enables one to say that the external symbol is changed into the internal and divine part because the

former represents the latter *vere et efficaciter*.¹³⁹ The greatness and dignity of the sacrament lies in the power and action of God who sanctifies creatures to such an office (*munus*). It is not man's power, Cosin argued, but the divine virtue (*Divina virtus*) which makes earthly elements become the certain pledges of Christ's body and blood (*ut res terrenae et exiles fiant nobis certissima Corporis et Sanguinis Christi pignora*).¹⁴⁰ It is a change of *usus*, and one can even grant that it is a change of *natura*, as long as this is understood to mean a sacramental /what change such that/was, still is, and yet is altered, as St. Ambrose taught.¹⁴¹ Moreover, this new use and alteration mean that by the elements, Christ's body and blood are communicated.¹⁴² For this reason, Cosin acknowledged with the Fathers a change which is wonderful, supernatural and proper to the divine omnipotency offering communicants *novum via Corporis Christi*.¹⁴³

Returning to the 1620s, we see that Montague had at that time already articulated a "dynamic" view of the sacramental conversion, such as Cosin held in later years. In one passage in A New Gagge for an Old Goose, he acknowledged, "No man denyeth a *change*, an *alteration*, a *transmutation*, a *transelementation*, as they [the Fathers] speake"¹⁴⁴ This statement may seem to indicate that Montague favoured an understanding of change similar perhaps to that held by the Eastern Orthodox, but it is evident from the context that the kind of change which he had in mind is a change concerning the *use* to which the elements were put. He wrote, "... no man otherwise beleeveth but that the *natural* condition of the Bread consecrated, is otherwise than it was: beeing disposed and used to that holy use, of imparting Christ unto the Communicants".¹⁴⁵ Montague argued in Appello Caesarem that in the early Church various

terms were employed by the Fathers to express this change, such as μεταβολή, μεταποίησις, μετασχηματισμός and μεταστοιχείωσις.¹⁴⁶ He qualified his understanding and acceptance of this language by stating, "... a change of the elements, that is *Transmutation*, and *Transelementation*, doe not inferre, you must know *Transubstantiation*". "There is", he maintained, "a *Conversion Sacramentall*, that is, of signification, and of operation and use; as also in the Waters of Baptisme."¹⁴⁷

Another indication that Montague's understanding of eucharistic change was in terms of the use to which the elements are put was his appeal to Bishop Morton.¹⁴⁸ He argued that Morton did not interpret Ambrose's statement, "Before Consecration it was bread, common bread: but after consecration it becommeth the FLESH OF CHRIST, because then the Sacrament is consummate", as popery.¹⁴⁹ These are the "very words by mee recited out of Lib. IV. cap. 4. *de Sacram*", Montague said. "Is this *Popery* in M. MONTAGU? is it good catholick Doctrine in Bishop Morton?"¹⁵⁰ Commenting on Ambrose's words, *Operatorius sermo est, & sunt quae erant, & in aliud commutantur*, Montague wrote:

But *esse quod erant*, doth utterly take away and abolish that fiction of *Transubstantiation* unto another nature. *They remained what they were indeed, yet changed in use*, to be Instruments by Faith of Grace, as his own similitude doth illustrate.¹⁵¹

This is nearly a verbatim passage taken from a footnote in Morton's *Of the Institution of the Blessed Bodie and Blood of Christ*¹⁵² and shows Montague's concurrence with Morton on the understanding of the sacramental change in terms of use.

Laud, when he positively described a eucharistic change in his last days, did so in the "dynamic" way. In his *History of the Troubles and Tryals*, written during his imprisonment in the Tower before his martyr-

dom, he defended the epiclesis in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI and in the 1637 Scottish Liturgy of Charles I.¹⁵³ He argued that the change occurring in the eucharist is the work of God Himself: "Well, and a work of omnipotency it is whatever the change be. For less than Omnipotence cannot change those elements, either in nature, or use, to so high a service as they are put in that great Sacrament".¹⁵⁴ Here Laud set forward two possible ways of understanding the eucharistic change, i.e., either a change in "nature" or a change in "use". Invoking God's goodness to effect a conversion did not imply any "corporal presence of Christ in this Sacrament", he asserted. The phrase of the Roman mass, *ut fiant nobis*, implies that the elements are not transubstantiated "in themselves; into the Body and Blood of Christ, nor that there is any corporal presence, in, or under the elements".¹⁵⁵ After consecration or benediction, he acknowledged, the elements "may be called, the Body and Blood of Christ, without any addition, in that real and true sense in which they are so called in Scripture". The words *fiant nobis* provide "an allay in the proper signification of the body and blood", and "cannot well be understood otherwise, than to imply not the corporal substance, but *the real, and yet the spiritual use of them*".¹⁵⁶

A few years later, Taylor continued this "dynamic" view of eucharistic change, arguing in his 1650 The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living that after the consecration the bread and wine are no longer common bread and wine, but are "holy in their use, holy in their signification, holy in their change, and holy in their effect", and they enable the communicant to "receive Christ's body and blood to all effects and purposes of the Spirit, as thou does receive the blessed elements into thy mouth".¹⁵⁷

Four years later, he expanded this teaching in The Real Presence. The question which divides the Church of England from the Church of Rome, he claimed, is not whether the "symbols be changed into Christ's body and blood", since both sides grant this, but concerns the manner of this conversion. Is it "sacramental and figurative" or is it "natural and bodily"? The Roman teaching, Taylor argued, is that conversion is "proper, natural and corporal", implying that 1. after the consecration there is no bread and wine on the altar, 2. the accidents remain, but "neither in the bread, nor in the body of Christ, but by themselves" (e.g., there is whiteness, but nothing white), 3. in the place of the substance of bread and wine there are brought the "natural" body and blood of Christ, 4. the flesh of Christ is eaten by all communicants, "good and bad, worthy and unworthy", 5. there is a distinction and opposition between "spiritual" manducation and "sacramental" or "real" manducation, and 6. Christ is taken by the mouth.¹⁵⁸

The eucharistic conversion, Taylor argued, is "spiritual",¹⁵⁹ "figurative, mysterious, and sacramental" as opposed to being "proper, natural and corporal".¹⁶⁰ The Greek Fathers, when speaking of the "change of the symbols in the holy sacrament", sometimes used words like μεταβολή, μεταρρύθμισις, μετασκεύασμος, μεταστοιχείωσις, μεταποίησις, "conversion, mutation, transition, migration, transfiguration". Yet, Taylor argued, by these terms they understood "accidental and sacramental conversions, not proper, natural, and substantial" ones.¹⁶¹ Change means a "change of use, of condition, of sanctification", as when a table is changed into an altar, a house into a church, and a man into a priest.¹⁶² When the Fathers acknowledged nature being changed in the sacrament, they understood this as an "accidental change"; when they referred to a change of the bread into

the substance of Christ's body, they meant "sacramentally", not "naturally".¹⁶³ The Fathers in affirming the eucharistic transformation and presence wrote either in a way which the Church of England acknowledges, Taylor claimed, such as "it is Christ's Body and is not common bread", or they affirmed more than is allowed to be literally and properly true by either Romans or Protestants, such as Chrysostom's words, "Thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him, and thy tongue is made bloody by this admirable blood...".¹⁶⁴ The words of the Fathers, in their most hyperbolical expressions, ought to be understood and expounded "sacramentally and mystically", i.e., the name of the thing signified or figured understood as being given to the sign or figure.¹⁶⁵ The Fathers may have acknowledged a conversion of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood, but they also acknowledged the communicants' conversion into Christ.¹⁶⁶ The change which occurs in the eucharist is like that which takes place in other sacraments. Taylor argued that St. Cyril of Alexandria had compared the alteration of the bread occurring after the epiclesis to that occurring in the chrism:

'As the bread of the eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer common bread, but it is the body of Christ: so this holy unguent is no longer mere and common ointment, but it is (χάρισμα Χριστοῦ), the grace of Christ: χρίσμα Χριστοῦ it uses to be mistaken, the 'chrism' for the grace or gift of Christ; and yet this is not spoken properly, as is apparent; but it is in this as in the eucharist: '- so says the comparison.¹⁶⁷

Likewise, St. Chrysostom taught that the table is "as the manger in which Christ was laid" and "the priest is a seraphim, and his hands are the tongs taking the coal from the altar".¹⁶⁸

The change which occurs in the sacrament does not mean that the bread becomes Christ's body in a "proper natural sense", but only in a "figurative improper sense", i.e., a change of "use, virtue and condition":

The sum of all is this; If of bread Christ said, 'This is my body', because it cannot be true in a proper natural sense, it implying a contradiction that it should be properly bread, and properly Christ's body; it must follow, that it is Christ's body in a figurative improper sense. But if the bread does not remain bread, but be changed by blessing into our Lord's body; this also is impossible to be in any sense true, but by affirming the change to be only in use, virtue, and condition, with which change the natural being of bread may remain.¹⁶⁹

This position of Taylor's regarding the eucharistic transformation should serve as the framework for understanding his liturgical formulation. In A Collection of Offices (1658), published four years after The Real Presence and two years before The Worthy Communicant, Taylor included in the eucharistic rite an explicit epiclesis which calls upon the Father to send down His Holy Spirit to bless and sanctify the gifts "That this Bread may become the Holy Body of Christ. Amen. And this Chalice may become the life-giving Blood of Christ".¹⁷⁰ The interpretation of these words immediately follows the epiclesis: "That it may become unto us all that partake of it this, *a Blessed instrument of Union* with Christ, of pardon and peace, of health and blessing, of holiness and life Eternal, through Jesus Christ our Lord".¹⁷¹

There may be temptation to isolate the epiclesis proper and to argue that Taylor was setting forth a position similar to that of the Eastern Church, or that Taylor's liturgical material expressed his beliefs "unclouded by the exigencies of controversy",¹⁷² or that his rite marked the beginning of a more "mature and more exact" theology, going beyond the "narrow world of the Western Middle Ages" to the primitive Church and the ancient Fathers.¹⁷³ In external form and phraseology this may be true, as the title of this collection of offices explicitly indicates that the *form* of prayers was taken from the Scriptures "and the Ancient Liturgies of Several Churches, Especially the Greek".¹⁷⁴ To assert

that the theological meaning or intention of the texts was something other than that expressed in Taylor's theological writings is another matter. The title of the eucharistic rite indicates that it is "According to the Way of the Apostolical Churches, and the Doctrine of the Church of England".¹⁷⁵ Here seems to be the key for understanding the relationship between Taylor's liturgical material and his theological works; he filled Eastern liturgical forms with what he regarded to be the eucharistic doctrine of the English Church. The prayer which followed the epiclesis ("That it may become ... a Blessed instrument of Union with Christ") and the various passages from his treatises expressed the same conception of eucharistic change, i.e., one of use, virtue and condition for conveying the body and blood and for effecting union with Christ.

It has been argued quite convincingly by Dugmore that Taylor's eucharistic doctrine was influenced by his nearly ten years of intimate association with William Nicholson (1591-1672) at Newton Hall (a school in Carmarthenshire), beginning in 1645. Nicholson's A Plain but Full Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England, published in 1655, taught a "dynamic" doctrine of eucharistic change.¹⁷⁶ It seems quite likely, then, that Taylor was influenced by Nicholson in this regard.

One should not forget that this "dynamic" understanding of sacramental change had much wider roots reaching back to the sixteenth-century English heritage of men such as Ridley, Jewel and Hooker (as we saw in the first chapter, supra, pp. 29, 40-43), whose writings were known by the Caroline divines.¹⁷⁷ Montague, Laud in his latter days, Cosin after his exile, and Taylor perpetuated in the seventeenth century their understanding of change in terms of use.

It should also be pointed out that this conception of the eucharistic transformation was also held by sixteenth-century continental defenders of the 'true' presence doctrine and was maintained by their seventeenth-century descendants. Martin Bucer, for example, in his Censura on the 1549 Prayer Book, argued that there is no other alteration of the bread and wine other than that by which they are changed from their usual and ordinary use (*ex vulgari communique usu*) and become symbols of the body and blood so that those who receive them with true faith may receive a deeper communion in the Lord.¹⁷⁸ In the Institution, Calvin argued that the conversion which occurs in the eucharist is of such a nature that after consecration, the elements are considered in a different light from common food intended only for the body. In the sacrament bread and wine become the spiritual food and drink of the soul:

*Car ce qu'ils disent qu'en consacrant le pain il se fait une conversion secrète, tellement qu'il y a autre chose que du pain et du vin, ce n'est pas, comme i'ay desia monsté, pour signifier que le pain et le vin s'esvanouissent, mais qu'on les doit avoir en autre estime que des viandes communes, qui sont seulement pour paistre le ventre, veu que là nous avons le boire et le manger spirituel pour nous nourrir nos âmes.*¹⁷⁹

Moreover, Calvin (as Cosin and Montague were to do in the next century) compared the eucharistic change to the change occurring in holy baptism:

*... mais s'ils veulent tirer cela à leur resverie, ie leur demande quel changement ils pensent qu'il se face au Baptesme. Car les Anciens recognoissent qu'il s'y fait aussi une conversion admirable, c'est qu'un élément corruptible est fait lavement spirituel des âmes, et toutesfois nul ne nie que l'eau ne demeure en sa substance.*¹⁸⁰

Pierre du Moulin, the seventeenth-century (1600-1684) French Calvinist, taught that the "sanctifying of the symbols, called by some of the ancients *Mutation*" is not an "essentiall, but sacramental" change, "not as touching the substance, but as touching the use". The elements, he

maintained, are taken from common use and are "consecrated and dedicated to serve a sacred end, and spiritual use, following the ordinance and institution of Christ, upon whom and his promise, not upon the words newly pronounced dependeth the power and efficacie of this sacrament".¹⁸¹

It is also worthy of note that among the English Puritans is found this same understanding of the sacramental change as concerning what the elements accomplish in the eucharistic action, rather than what happens to the elements themselves. The Puritan Bishop of Bangor, Lewis Bayly (d. 1631), for example, in his The Practice of Piety, taught that while the consecration does not "change or annihilate the substance of bread and wine", it does change them in use and in name".¹⁸² H. Burton, the opponent of Laud, in his 1640 Replie to a Relation, admitted that ancient Fathers spoke of a mutation and a change of nature in the elements, but that they did not mean by this a "changing of their *substance*, but of their *use*, from being common bread and wine to become Sacramentall, or Sacred".¹⁸³

In the writings of Herbert Thorndike we find a teaching of eucharistic transformation which differs in significant ways from both the Lutheranizing and/or Romanizing tendencies of Saravia, Andrewes and the early Cosin and the "Reformed school" of Montague, Laud, the later Cosin and Taylor.¹⁸⁴ For lack of a better term, we shall call it a doctrine of "pneumatological change". In his Epilogue, he argued that there is a certain transformation of the elements: "It shall be enough, that they all acknowledge the elements to be changed, translated, and turned into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood; though as in a sacrament, that is, mystically;...".¹⁸⁵ This, however, does not require the nature and substance of the elements to be gone. The bread is, as Irenaeus said, both "the earthly thing, as well as the Body the

heavenly".¹⁸⁶ Even the canon of the Roman mass teaches a certain abatement in the change which occurs to the bread, Thorndike argued: "No man, that understands Latin and sense, will say it is the same thing for the elements to become the Body and Blood of Christ, as to become the Body and Blood to those that receive; which imports no more than that which I have said".¹⁸⁷ The "abatement" which Thorndike here had in mind was the remaining of bread and wine in their entirety despite the eucharistic change.

In an earlier treatise, Of Religious Assemblies (1642), he had argued in a similar way concerning the words of the canon (*ut nobis corpus fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi*): "... the words cannot well be understood otherwise than to import not the corporal substance, but the spiritual use of them [the elements]" when the bread and wine are said to become the body and blood to them that communicate.¹⁸⁸ Acknowledging that Eastern forms of consecration pray that "the elements may be made, or become, or be changed, or translated into the body and blood of Christ", he interpreted this to mean that while the bread and wine do not cease to be what they were, they now become what they were not, i.e., "visible signs exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure".¹⁸⁹ This invisible grace is the body and blood, "not in respect of the corporal substance and kind, whereof they consist, but in respect to the spiritual communion which they exhibit".¹⁹⁰

Something occurs to the bread and wine, he argued in his Epilogue, such that one can say that the elements "become the Body and Blood of Christ".¹⁹¹ If this change did not signify either transubstantiation or a bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood for Thorndike, what did it signify? It meant that something occurs to the bread and wine themselves, and not only to the use to which they are put (i.e., for communicating the body and blood). The Holy Spirit descends upon the

eucharistic gifts and "dwells" in them, making them the body and blood of Christ.¹⁹²

In his 1656 A Letter Concerning the Present State of Religion Amongst Us, Thorndike had argued that the bread and wine "mystically" and "spiritually" and "in a sacrament" become the flesh and blood.¹⁹³ Bread and wine, however, are not changed into the "nature of flesh and blood", as bread and wine consumed by Christ on earth are said to have become the flesh and blood of the Son of God by becoming the flesh and blood of His manhood, he argued in his 1662 Just Weights and Measures. Rather, bread and wine become such by being united to the Spirit of Christ, His Godhead, "immediately and *ipso facto*". The body and blood of Christ by the incarnation and the eucharistic elements by consecration "become both one sacramentally, by being both one with the Spirit or Godhead of Christ, to the conveying of God's Spirit to a Christian".¹⁹⁴ Thorndike ascribed this teaching to St. Gregory of Nyssa, asserting that it was grounded upon the consecratory prayers used by the whole Church, and claiming it for his own: "...[this doctrine] seems to me to make good all that the ancient fathers have taught concerning this sacrament; whereas no other terms are able to do the same".¹⁹⁵

The "great miracle" of the eucharist is neither transubstantiation nor consubstantiation, he argued in his Epilogue, but is one which also requires the "infinite power of God" to bring about,

... that by His Spirit He tendereth the Flesh and Blood of Christ, so sacramentally present in the elements, that whoso receiveth them faithfully, thereby communicates as truly in the Spirit of God according to his spirit, as according to his body he communicates sacramentally in His Body and Blood.¹⁹⁶

There is no need, he claimed, for the body and blood to be present in "bodily substance", since they are there "mystically" by the operation

of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹⁷ Several years later in The Reformation of the Church of England, he described the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the elements as analogous to the incarnation and hypostatic union, in that the Godhead is united to earthly elements for His purposes, without abolishing them.¹⁹⁸

Given this interpretation of eucharistic conversion in terms of a descent of the Holy Spirit and His dwelling in the earthly elements, together with an explicit claim by Thorndike that his understanding of change was that of St. Gregory of Nyssa, there is a certain legitimacy in understanding his thinking in this matter as reflecting a tendency toward Eastern Orthodoxy. Certainly his emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in effecting the transformation had links with the East. The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, for example, calls upon God to send down His Holy Spirit upon the congregation and upon the gifts of bread and wine (Κατάπαμψον το Πνεῦμά σου το Ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα Δῶρα ταῦτα) and to make the bread the body of Christ, changing them by the Holy Spirit (Καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν Ἄρτον τοῦτον, τίμιον Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ... Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ, τίμιον Αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ... Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματι σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ).¹⁹⁹

There is, however, something very different about the position held by Thorndike and the teaching of St. Gregory of Nyssa, the representative of the Greek tradition to whom he appealed. Thorndike used the Oratio Catechetica of Gregory 1. to contrast the natural transformation of bread into the body of the Logos, occurring through eating, with the immediate change brought about in the sacrament by the gifts being united to the Spirit, and 2. to argue that the flesh of Christ by incarnation and the bread by consecration are one "sacramentally" since they both are united

to the Spirit. St. Gregory, however, used the natural transformation of bread into the body of the Logos, occurring through eating, as an *analogy* for understanding the eucharistic transformation, which he saw as differing from it only in terms of immediacy. St. Gregory taught a transmutation (μεταποίησις) of the bread into the body of the Logos, while Thorndike taught a "sacramental" unity between the bread and body, both being united to the same Spirit or Godhead.²⁰⁰

Moreover, in terms of seventeenth-century Orthodoxy, Thorndike's teaching fell far short of the various "confessions" being produced. The 1642 Orthodox Confession of Metropolitan Peter Mogila of Kiev, for example, taught that after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the substance (οὐσιᾶ) of the bread and wine is changed (μεταβάλλεται) into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, which is appropriately described as transubstantiation (μετουσίωσις).²⁰¹ In 1672, just at about the same time as Thorndike was writing The Reformation of the Church of England, the Council of Jerusalem, under Patriarch Dositheus, met and affirmed the Confession of Dositheus. This treatise explicitly rejected the notion that the eucharistic presence takes place by the conjunction of the Deity of the Word to the sacramental elements. Rather, after the consecration, the bread and wine are changed (μεταβαλλεσθαι), transubstantiated (μετουσιωθῆναι), transmade (μεταποιεῖσθαι), and reordered (μεταρρυθμιζεσθαι), into the real body and blood of the Lord.²⁰² This is something more than Thorndike wished to affirm!

Thorndike's teaching of eucharistic change, by which he understood the elements themselves to be indwelt by the same Spirit who indwells the flesh of Christ, has characteristics of both the earlier "dynamic" idea and "unifying" concept, found among the Caroline divines. With the

former it teaches that in the spiritual use of the elements the body and blood of Christ are communicated. With the latter, it teaches that there is a presence (albeit, a presence of the Spirit directly, and of the body and blood only indirectly or "sacramentally") associated with the elements themselves. Yet, this teaching of Thorndike which "localizes" the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic elements (in much the same way as Roman and sixteenth-century Lutheran theology tended to "localize" the body and blood in the elements), defies categorization. It differed from Orthodox, Roman, Lutheran and Calvinist sacramental doctrine and should be seen as Thorndike's unique exposition of the transformation occurring in the eucharist.²⁰³

What then can we say about Caroline teaching on eucharistic conversion? First, there is variety, both in terms of their evaluations of transubstantiation and in terms of their positive descriptions of the transformation. The one point upon which they were all agreed, however, was that the Roman theory was neither accurate nor appropriate. Nonetheless, they disagreed as to how transubstantiation was to be regarded. Saravia, the late Cosin, and Taylor took a hard-line, strongly condemnatory attitude toward it, much in accord with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Calvinist and Puritan thought. Andrewes, the early Cosin, Montague, Forbes, Laud and Thorndike held more 'liberal' notions, treating transubstantiation as if it were more of an irrelevant and too highly speculative description of the sacramental change, which Rome had unwisely elevated to the status of dogma. This perspective bears similarities to that of certain sixteenth-century Lutherans. Moreover, both the 'hard-liners' and the 'liberals' had roots in the sixteenth-century English tradition, and their ideas can be regarded as the continuation of two earlier Anglican strands of thinking.

With regard to their positive understanding of the eucharistic conversion, one becomes aware of the beginning of a shift in thinking from the previous century among some of the Caroline divines. Montague, Laud, the late Cosin and Taylor were the 'conservatives' in this matter, and perpetuated the sixteenth-century Reformed teaching of change in terms of use as found in the Church of England. The ideas of Saravia, Andrewes and the early Cosin show an understanding of what we have called a "unifying" change, similar to that which was found among certain earlier Lutherans. Thorndike was the most original of the divines, combining the "dynamic" and "unifying" emphases within an Eastern Orthodox pneumatological approach.

It must be pointed out, however, that these various interpretations of the sacramental transformation were not rigid conceptualizations separated from each other by immovable walls. Differing emphases co-existed with each other throughout the period. With regard to the period *as a whole*, we can say that the variety of understandings of sacramental change among the Caroline theologians indicate that it was a new phase in the development of Anglican eucharistic theology, an edging away from the domination by Reformed thinking in the previous century.

FOOTNOTES

¹*Canones et Decreta*, p. 61 (Sess. XIII, c. IV). See also canon II, which states: *Si quis dixerit, in sacrosancto eucharistiae sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiae panis in corpus, et totius substantiae vini in sanguinem, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem catholica ecclesia aptissime transsubstantiationem appellat: anathema sit.* (p. 64.)

²Saravia, for example, stated /that transubstantiation was against Christ's institution, the nature of things themselves (echoing the sentiments of the 1571 Articles of Religion) and the judgement of the

ancient Fathers. De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 24. Andrewes argued that, while the early Fathers spoke of change and alteration in the eucharist, they never taught a change of substance; moreover, he argued, medieval schoolmen such as Duns Scotus and Durandus admitted that transubstantiation was not a necessary explanation of the eucharistic presence. Works, RACB: 12, 15, 262; see also, Joannis Duns Scoti Doctoris Subtilis, Ordinis Minorum Opera Omnia, 26 vols. (Paris: Ludovicum Vives, 1894), 17: 353, 355, 372, 376; Durandi A Sancto Porciano, in Sententias Theologicas Petri Lombardi Commentiorum Libri Quatuor (Lugduni: Gulielmum Rovillium, 1587), p. 714. Montague asserted that in accordance with the analogy of scripture one could not legitimately interpret the words of institution as teaching transubstantiation, and that the Fathers spoke of bread and wine remaining after consecration. A Gagg for an Old Goose, pp. D, 2 V : 253-56. Forbes cited early Fathers, and medieval writers, such as Ratramnus, Aelfric, Rupert of Deutz and Rabanus Maurus, as evidence that transubstantiation was not an article of faith prior to the IV Lateran Council. Moreover, he pointed out, Romanists such as Scotus, Biel, Cajetan and Fisher had acknowledged that it could not be proved from scripture, but required the Church's pronouncement. Considerationes, 2: 446-64. Interestingly, he included the 1073 recantation of Berengarius in his evidence against any declaration of the Church for transubstantiation prior to Lateran IV. He cited Hugo Magnus' statement that the recantation did not explicitly deal with transubstantiation, but with Berengarius' denial of the true and real presence of Christ under the species of bread and wine. Ibid., p. 464; see also, Hugo Magnus, Apologia Apologiae Pro Ioanne Duns Scoto Doctore Subtili Theologorum Principe (Paris: Michaellem Sonnum, 1623), p. 252. Laud claimed that transubstantiation was an "error in divinity, and about the faith", which "is manifest both by Scripture and the judgment of the primitive Church", it was first taught conciliarly only at the IV Lateran Council in 1215. Even Francis Suarez (1548-1617), the Roman theologian, had admitted, Laud argued, that transubstantiation was not "simply necessary to salvation". Works, 2: 306, 321, 377 (Conference with Fisher); see also, Francisco Suarez, Commentiorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem Divi Thomae. Tomus Tertius (Lipsii: Ex Officina Typographica Balthasaris, Sumptibus Hermanii Mylii, 1619), p. 598. The decree of IV Lateran asserted the Roman teaching in the following way: *In qua idem ipse sacerdos & sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus & sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis, pane in corpus, & vino in sanguinem, potestate Divina:...* J. D. Mansi, ed., Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, cont. ed., L. Petit & J. B. Martin, 59 vols. (Venetiis: Antonium Zatta, 1759-1927), 22: 982 (*I. de Fide Catholica*). Cosin, similarly, taught that transubstantiation was founded on neither scripture nor antiquity, was repugnant to both of them and destroyed the nature of a sacrament. Works, 4: 284 (Concerning the Ordination of Priests); in his Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, see especially pp. 16, 46-47, 54-55, 125, 135-36, 466-68. Likewise, Taylor asserted that the Roman teaching was taught neither by the scriptures nor by the Fathers of the early Church, and so was a "doctrine to be but of yesterday". Works, 9: 432-36; 10: 71-88 (The Real Presence). For Thorndike again neither scripture nor tradition taught the abolition of the elements in their "bodily substance". He appealed to the Fathers, the ancient liturgies and even the Roman mass to support this claim. See, for example, Works, 1: 350-51 (Of Religious Assemblies, 1642) and 4: 10, 68-69, 73, 76-77, 79 (Epilogue, 1659).

³The 1571 Articles of Religion, for example, declared that "Transubstantiation (or chaunge of the substaunce of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lorde, can not be proved by holye writ, but is repugnant to the playne wordes of scripture.....". Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 329. Bishop Jewel argued against Harding that the only "Fathers" whom he could cite in favour of transubstantiation had lived within the past two or three hundred years and that he was unable to include ancient writers such as Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Chrysostom as his supporters. Works 1: 457-58. Hooker admitted that the Fathers had spoken of a "change of the elements themselves", but rejected transubstantiation as a legitimate way of interpreting their language. Works of Hooker (Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Book 5), 67: 11. Calvin had written in his Institution that the doctrine of transubstantiation was opposed not only to scripture, but to the ancient Church as well. Institution 4: 17: 14. Chemnitz in his Examinis argued that transubstantiation could not be proved from scripture and that it was only during the time of Peter Lombard, with the advent of scholastic theology, that theologians began to debate the manner of eucharistic conversion, and that Innocent III at the Lateran Council first determined the mode of this change to be by transubstantiation. Chemnitz also appealed to schoolmen such as Scotus of Cambray and Durandus as having taught that Christ's eucharistic presence was possible without transubstantiation. Examinis 2: 75-78; Examination 2: 254-62.

⁴The French Calvinist, Pierre du Moulin (1568-1658), who kept up contacts with various Anglicans, taught, for example, that "The sanctifying of the symbols, called by some of the ancients *Mutation*" was "not essential, but sacramental, not as touching the substance, but as touching the use". Proposition 42 in Certaine Analyticall and Orthodoxe Propositions upon The Lord's Supper, p. 32, in An Apology for the Holy Supper of the Lord, trans. E. Skipworth (London: T. S. for N. Butler, 1632). Johann Gerhard, on the Lutheran side, in his Loci Theologici, appealed to both scripture and the Fathers as standing against transubstantiation. (See, especially, 5: 126-32.)

⁵De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 24.

⁶Hardwick, A History of the Articles, pp. 329-31.

⁷CR, 33: 451.

⁸"...bref, la nature des Sacremens est renversée si le signe terrien ne respond à la chose céleste, pour bien signifier ce qui doit estre là cognu. Et par ainsi la vérité de la Cène seroit mise sous le pied, sans qu'il y a eust du vray pain pour représenter le vray corps de Iesus Christ." Institution, 4: 17: 14.

⁹De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 24.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 32.

¹¹Ibid., p. 4 (*Dedicatio*).

¹²Adrianus Saravia, pp. 18-19. Nijenhuis, however, thinks that no such visit took place. Whether or not, it seems highly unlikely that as

a good Reformed pastor, Saravia would have been familiar with Calvin's writings, especially the Institution.

¹³CR, 33: 450.

¹⁴Institution, 4: 17: 14.

¹⁵Works, RACB: 13. Andrewes granted that a change occurs in the eucharist: *At et nos praepositionem ibi 'trans' non negamus: et 'transmutari' elementa damus.* Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁶"A thing which no way can either further or hinder us howsoever it stand because our participation of Christ in this sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and blood to us, whether with change or without alteration of the elements such as they imagine we need not greatly to care nor inquire." Ecclesiastical Polity, Book 5: 67: 6. It should be noted that Andrewes was defending King James I (VI)'s rejection of transubstantiation as a new and necessary article of faith. In his Premonition to All Most Mightie Monarches, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendome, James rejected as new articles of faith, various Roman practices and teachings never heard of "in the first 500 years", such as: private masses, 'Amputation' of one half of the sacrament from the people, transubstantiation, elevation of the sacrament for adoration and the carrying about of the sacrament in processions. King James I (VI), The Political Works of James I, ed., Charles Howard McIlwain, vol. 1 of Harvard Political Classics (Cambridge: University Press, 1918), p. 124 reprinted from the 1616 edition.

¹⁷'De quantitate' Christi 'sub pane, An sit ibi' Christus 'sub sua', an 'sub panis quantitate'? Et, si 'sub sua', an 'sub quantitate sine modo quantitativo'? An sit ibi Christi substantia sub accidentibus, 'remota tamen inhaerentia': contra Logicam? In iis verbis, 'Quod pro vobis frangitur', cum 'frangi', jam corpus non possit, quippe nec 'pati', an 'frangi', non sit verbum passivum, contra Grammaticam? An 'ex accidentibus mures nutriantur', an ex iis vermes generentur', contra Physicam? An, simul et eodem momento, Christus 'quiescat' in Pyxide 'hic, moveatur alibi' in Elevatione? Works, RACB: 14.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁹Dugmore, therefore, overstated Andrewes' position when he wrote, "We have seen that Andrewes was loath to express himself on the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, while asserting its reality unequivocally and rejecting Transubstantiation unconditionally". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 46.

²⁰Works, 5: 151-55 (Notes on the Catechism).

²¹The Anglicanism of John Cosin, p. 6.

²²Works, 5: 155. See also, Johannes Maldonatus, Disputationem ac Controversarium Decisarum et Circa Septem Ecclesiae Romanae Sacramenta inter Catholicos praesertim & Calvinistas, tum alios hoc tempore agitari solitarum, 2 vols. in 1 (Lugduni: 1614), 1: 125.

²³Works, 4_ 95 (Concerning the Ordination of Priests).

²⁴Ibid., p. 47 (Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis).

²⁵Ibid., pp. 60-61.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 72-73.

²⁷Ibid., p. 73.

²⁸Ibid., p. 95.

²⁹Ibid., p. 16.

³⁰*Idem si fecissent olim, aut nunc facerent transubstantiatores pontificii, neque modum praesentiae, nuper ab eis excogitatum, tanquam articulum fidei omnibus salvandis absolute et simpliciter necessarium, sub diro anathemate determinassent...* Ibid., p. 18.

³¹Ibid., pp. 105-106.

³²Ibid., pp. 129-33.

³³Ibid., p. 133.

³⁴In a 1646 letter, Cosin wrote, "... they of Geneva are to blame in many things, and defective in some: they shall never have my approbation of their doings... Yet I do not see that they have set up any new articles of faith under pain of damnation to all the world that will not receive them for such articles; and you know whose case that is". Ibid., pp. 385-86; Cuming, The Anglicanism of John Cosin, p. 9.

³⁵Works, 4: 41; Cuming, The Anglicanism of John Cosin, p. 10. From Cosin's library in Durham, we know that he had a copy of Calvin's Institutio Christianae Religionis before 1645, and later obtained other tracts by Calvin, including his 1540 De Coena Domini and his 1561 De Vera Participatione Carnis et Sanguis Christi (found in Ionnii Calvini Tractatus Theologici Omnes, 1611), as well as Jeremy Taylor's The Real Presence (1654).

³⁶Early Writings of John Hooper, pp. 117-18. For similar ideas, see James Pilkington's 1561 Confutating an Addition in the Works of James Pilkington, B.D., Lord Bishop of Durham, ed., James Scholefield, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1842), p. 588.

³⁷Works, p. 79 ("A Golden Chaine or the Description of Theologie").

³⁸Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae, pp. 474-76.

³⁹A New Gagg for an Old Goose, p. 2 (Preface).

⁴⁰For a short account of Panzani's mission and time in England, see S. R. Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642, 10 vols., new ed. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889-1893), 8: 133-44.

⁴¹The Memoirs of Gregoris Panzani; Giving an Account of His Agency in England, in the Years 1634, 1635, 1636, intro. and trans. by Joseph Berington (Birmingham: Swinney & Walker for G.G.J. & J. Robinson & R. Faulder, 1793), p. 238.

⁴²Ibid., p. 248.

⁴³Ibid., p. 238.

⁴⁴The memoirs were written either by Panzani himself or composed by someone else from the materials which he supplied. Ibid., pp. 253-54.

⁴⁵A New Gagg for an Old Goose, p. 252.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 255.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 252.

⁴⁸Montague wrote in A New Gagg for an Old Goose: "Moderate men on both sides confesse, this controversie may cease. *Et quamvis praesens haec Ecclesia Romana, non parum in morum & disciplinae integritate, adde etiam in doctrinae sinceritate, ab antiqua illa, unde orta & derivata est, discesserit, tamen eadem fundamento doctrinae, & sacramentorum a Deo institutorum firma semper constitit: & communionem cum antiqua illa & indubitata Christi Ecclesia agnoscit, & colit.*" (p. 50.)

⁴⁹Anti-Montacutum Appeale or Remonstrance of the Orthodox Ministers of the Church of England; Against Richard Montague, Clerke, lately made Byshop of Chichester (Edinburgh: 1629), p. 8.

⁵⁰...man nach Christus ordnung Messe helt, es sey bey und Lutherischen, oder im Paptum oder inn Grecia oder inn India, wens auch gleich allein die eine gestalt, das dock unrecht und misbrauch ist... So sei daselbs unter der gestalt das brods der warhafftige leib Christi, fur uns am Creutz gegeben, unter der gestalt des weins das warhafftige blut Christi... . WA, 38: 264. (Ein Brief D. Martin Luthers von seinem Buch der Winkelmesssen (1534).)

⁵¹WA Br, 10: 331; see also, The Origin and Meaning, p. 128. This is not to say that the attitudes of Luther and Montague were identical, since Luther was even more tolerant than was the Englishman.

⁵²Examinis, 2: 271; Examination, 2: 254.

⁵³Among the reasons given by Chemnitz are: 1) Rome had put forward the doctrine as an article of faith, 2) nothing should be accepted as an article of faith which cannot be proved from scripture, 3) transubstantiation agitated the simplicity of faith with unnatural and unnecessary questions, and 4) almost as an afterthought, the Roman doctrine destroyed the analogy of the sign and the thing signified. Examinis, 2: 79; Examination, 2: 265-66.

⁵⁴Appello Caesarem, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁵Considerationes, 2: 424.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae, p. 474.

⁵⁸*Credimus omnipotentiam Dei tantam esse, ut possit in Eucharistia substantiam panis et vini vel annihilare, vel in corpus et sanguinem Christi mutare. Sed quod Deus hanc suam absolutam omnipotentiam in Eucharistia exerceat, non videtur esse certo verbo Dei traditum, et apparet Veteri Ecclesiae fuisse ignotum. Ibid., pp. 424, 426. For the German edition, see, Ernst Bizer, ed., Confessio Wirtembergica. Das württembergische Bekenntnis von 1551 (Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag der Evang. Gesellschaft, 1952), p. 157.*

⁵⁹Considerationes, 2: 400, 404.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 482.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 482, 484. Forbes said that he differed from Chemnitz and other Protestants who asserted that the question at Florence involved whether the Greeks accepted transubstantiation or not. In his Examinis Chemnitz had argued that, during the fourth session of that Council, one article in which the Greek Church was said to dissent from the Roman listed *de divina transmutatione panis in Eucharistia*; this showed, he asserted, that transubstantiation was not received by the universal Church at that time (15th century). Examinis, 2: 82; Examination, 2: 273.

⁶²Considerationes, 2: 484. Forbes seems to have paraphrased the Latin text, or to have made his own translation from the Greek text. The 1584 Latin text is as follows: *Statuit, igitur Catholica Ecclesia: mutari, consecratione facta, panem quidem in ipsum corpus Christi: vinum vero in ipsum sanguinem eius, per Spiritum S... nec etiam nunc in sacro hoc ritu descendit Dominicum corpus de coelo, (blasphemia enim haec esset) sed & tunc & nunc invocatione & gratia omnipotentis illius sacrorum rituum antistitis Spiritus sacrarum precatationum, & divinorum oraculorum interventu, panis quidem in ipsum Domini corpus, vinum vero in ipsum Domini sanguinem, convertitur & transmutatur [μεταποιούμενον καὶ μεταβαλλούμενον]*. Acta et Scripta, p. 86. See p. 87 for the Greek text.

⁶³Considerationes, 2: 484, 486. See also, Rerum Moscoviticarum, p. 196: *... ut neque panis, neque substantiae ipsius accidentia maneant, sed in divinam substantiam transelemententur.*

⁶⁴Considerationes, 2: 486. Forbes wondered at how Bishop Morton could have denied that transubstantiation was believed by the Patriarch Jeremiah II. Ibid., p. 488. For the text from Morton, see Of the Institution of the Sacrament of the Blessed Bodie and Blood of Christ, p. 144.

⁶⁵Considerationes, 2: 488.

⁶⁶*Sed quicquid hac de re senserit Cyrillus, certum est, recentiores Graecos a transubstantiationis opinione non fuisse, neque etiamnum esse, omnino alienos. Ibid., p. 490. Compare this opinion with that of Bishop Ridley, who denied that the Greek Church ever taught transubstantiation. Works, pp. 249-50 (Disputation at Oxford).*

⁶⁷Considerationes, 2: 490.

⁶⁸Among the passages from De Captivitate Babylonica of Luther, Forbes included this very important passage: *Permitto qui volet utramque opinionem tenere; hoc solum nunc ago, ut scrupulos conscientiarum de medio tollam, ne quis se reum haereseos metuat, si in altari verum panem verumque vinum esse crediderit; sed liberum esse sibi sciat citra periculum salutis, alterutrum imaginari, opinari, et credere, cum sit hic nulla necessitas fidei, etc.* Considerationes, 2: 490, 492; see also, WA, 6: 508.

⁶⁹*Errorem quidem esse affirmare, panem in Sacramento non manere, sed tamen in isto errore non multum esse situm, modo corpus et sanguis Christi cum verbo ibi relinquitur.* WA, 11: 441 (Von Anbeten des Sakraments des heiligen Leichmans). Also: *Se hactenus docuisse et adhuc docere, parum referre nec magni momenti quaestionem esse, sive quis panem in Eucharistia manere, sive non manere sed transsubstantiari credat.* WA, 26: 439 (Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis). See also, Considerationes, 2: 492.

⁷⁰Considerationes, 2: 492.

⁷¹Ibid.; Examinis, 2: 79; Examination, 2: 265.

⁷²The title of chapter 3, book 1 is *In quo, Transsubstantiationem de fide non esse, immo cum Scripturis et Patribus vetustioribus pugnare, haereseos tamen minime dammandam esse, paucis ostenditur.* Considerationes, 2:446. Also: *... quum plerique Romanenses, ut et alii fideles credant, panem consecratum non esse amplius panem, sed corpus Christi, unde illi non panem adorant, sed tantum ex suppositione, licet falsa non tamen haeretica aut impia vel cum fide directe pugnante... Christi corpus... adorant.* Ibid., p. 548.

⁷³Works, 2: 322, ft.nt. u (Conference with Fisher). Bellarmine had written: *Ex his colligimus conversio panis in corpus Domini, non esse productiva nec conservativa, sed adductiva. Nam corpus Domini praeexistit ante conversionem, sed non sub speciebus panis: conversio igitur non facit, ut corpus Christi simpliciter esse incipiat, sed ut incipiat esse sub speciebus panis. Porro adductivam vocamus istam conversionem, non quia corpus Christi per hanc adductionem deferat suum locum in coelo, jam etiam sit sub speciebus panis, et non solum sub illis sit per simplicem praesentiam, sive coexistentiam, sed etiam per unionem quandam, qualis erat inter substantiam panis, et accidentia panis, excepta tamen inhaerentia.* Opera, 4: 175 (De Sacra Eucharistia, lib. 3, cap. 18).

⁷⁴Works, 2: 322.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 364, ft.nt. a. See also, Bellarmine, Opera, 1: 30 (Recognitio Librorum de Eucharistia).

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 364, ft.nt. a.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 322, ft.nt. x. Bellarmine's words were: *...sed neque corpus Christi per conversionem adductivam translocari dici potest, cum neque deseret locum suum in coelo, neque incipiat esse sub speciebus, ut*

in loco, sed ut substantia sub accidentibus, remota tamen inhaerentia.
Opera, 1: 30 (Recognitio Librorum de Eucharistia).

⁷⁸Works, 2: 364, ft.nt. a.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 322, ft.nt. x and p. 364, ft.nt. a. See also, Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia, 10 vols., ed., Studio et Cura PP. Collegii A.S. Bonaventura (Prope Florentiam: Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1889), 4: 228-29. (Sententiarum, lib. 4, dist. 10, p. 2, art. 1, quaest. 1.)

⁸⁰Works, 2: 364-65, ft.nt. a. See also, Bellarmine, Opera, 1: 30 (Recognitio Librorum de Eucharistia).

⁸¹Stone, A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2: 268.

⁸²Works, 2: 320-21 (Conference with Fisher). Laud gave a reference to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book five, in a footnote.

⁸³Ibid., p. 322. Bellarmine wrote: *Sed quidquid sit de modis loquendi, illud tenendum est, conversionem panis et vini in corpus, et sanguinem Christi esse substantialem, sed arcanam, et ineffabilem, et nullis naturalibus conversionibus per omnia similem...* Opera, 1: 30 (Recognitio).

⁸⁴Works, 2: 323.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 332. One can also mention the case of Bishop Goodman in this regard. On the fifth Sunday in Lent, 1626, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, preached a sermon before the King for which he was accused of preaching "transubstantiation, or near it". (See J. Mead's letter to Sir M. Stuteville of 15 April, 1626 in The Court and Times of Charles the First, ed., Thomas Birch, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1848), 1: 95.) He "press'd so hard upon the Point of the *Real Presence*, that he was supposed to trench too near the borders of Popery", according to P. Heylyn, and there was debate in Convocation concerning it. (P. Heylyn, Cyprianus Anglicus (London: A. Seile, 1668), p. 153.) The King, then, commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), the Bishop of Winchester (Andrewes), the Bishop of Durham (Neile) and the Bishop of St. David's (Laud) to consult together about this sermon. The episcopal group finally advised, as Laud put it, *Quaedam minus caute dicta, falso nihil: nec innovatum quidquam ab eo in Ecclesia Anglicana* (Laud, Works, 3: 186-87, Diary). This generous treatment of a man accused of teaching transubstantiation and suspected of Romanism may suggest that Laud's (as well as Andrewes') attitude toward transubstantiation, or a close approximate, contained a certain leniency toward the Roman theory. For a life of Goodman, see Geoffrey J. Soden, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1583-1656 (London: SPCK, 1953).

⁸⁶A Replie to a Relation, p. 354.

⁸⁷Works, 9: ccccxvii (Dedicatory Epistle).

⁸⁸As has been pointed out, Taylor explicitly claimed that he had learned this from Andrewes (supra, p. 108). Ibid, p. 104.

⁸⁹Ibid., 10: 382-83. (1664.)

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 162-63.

⁹¹Ibid., 11: 211.

⁹²Ibid., 10: 163. In The Whole Duty of the Clergy in Life, Belief and Doctrine (1667), Taylor expressed what could be regarded as only the irrelevance of the Roman theory, but then he was not directly engaged in an evaluation of transubstantiation. Ibid., 6: 523.

⁹³A Defence of the Catholicke Faith: Contained in the Book of the most Mightie, and most Gracious King James the First, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Against the Answere of N. Coeffeteau (London: W. Stansby, 1610), pp. 350-51. Translated by John Lord Digby from the 1610 French edition.

⁹⁴Thorndike seems to have used interchangeably "abolishing of the elements" with abolishing the "substance" and abolishing the "corporal substance" of bread and wine. cf. Works, 4: 4, 35 (Epilogue) and 1: 349-51 (Of Religious Assemblies).

⁹⁵Ibid., 4: 35 (Epilogue).

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 82.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 26.

⁹⁹Ibid., 5: 547 (The Reformation of the Church of England Better than That of the Council of Trent: or A Short Resolution of the Controversies between the Churches of England and Rome, written 1670-1672, first published 1846). For a discussion of this passage, see, p.

¹⁰⁰Works, 4 (Part 2): 909 (Epilogue).

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 929. Luther, for example, while not agreeing with the theory of transubstantiation, nevertheless, did not regard it as negating the eucharistic presence in the Roman Church. He did, however, conclude that the "enthusiasts" and the Reformed, "mediating" churches had no presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. WA, 30/3: 559 (Luther's 1533 letter to Christians at Frankfurt-am-Main); 26: 389 (1528 Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntniss); Hardt, Venerabilis et Adorabilis Eucharistia, pp. 166-68. Luther limited even further a "valid" sacrament than did Thorndike.

¹⁰²De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 76.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 78.

- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 80.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid. Saravia was here arguing on the basis of St. Ambrose's De Mysteriis. See, PL, 16/17: 405-408 (lib. 1, cap. 9).
- ¹⁰⁸De Sacra Eucharistia, pp. 76, 78.
- ¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 86.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid.
- ¹¹¹WA, 30/I: 122; Peters, The Origin and Meaning, p. 123.
- ¹¹²Examinis, 2: 79; Examination, 2: 266.
- ¹¹³Examinis, 2: 76; Examination, 2: 258.
- ¹¹⁴Examinis, 2: 80; Examination, 2: 267.
- ¹¹⁵De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 196.
- ¹¹⁶*Quare eos qui in re conveniunt optarem in sermone similiter convenire, et illis eisdem verbis uti, quibus magnus ille Dei servus Martinus Lutherus utitur... Ibid.*, p. 34.
- ¹¹⁷Works, RACB: 262.
- ¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 263. St. Ambrose's words are: *Quantis igitur utimur exemplis. Probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit: majoremque vim esse benedictionis quam naturae; quia benedictione etiam natura ipse mutatur.* PL, 17/17: 405 (De Mysteriis, lib. 1, cap. 9).
- ¹¹⁹Works, RACB: 263; PL, 16/17: 441 (De Sacramentiis, lib. 4, cap. 4).
- ¹²⁰Works, RACB: 263; PG, 45: 96-97 (Oratio Catechetica, cap. 37). Andrewes denied a change of "nature" when this was taken to mean a change of substance. See, e.g., his discussion of Pope Gelasius' words: *'Manent enim Symbola, in priori sua substantia.'* Gelasius autem, *'Pontifex et Pastor summus', cujus ab 'ore pendeant' necesse est 'Pontificii' omnes, 'in divinam transire Spiritu Sancto perficiente substantiam', (quem proin miror a Cardinale praetermissum) 'et tamen esse non desinit substantia, vel natura, panis et vini'.* RACB: 265-66.
- ¹²¹Bellarmino, Opera, 4: 80 (De Sacra Eucharistia).
- ¹²²Works, RACB: 265.
- ¹²³Ibid.
- ¹²⁴Ibid.
- ¹²⁵Unfortunately, his library which survives, but is hardly complete, offers no clues in this direction.

¹²⁶In his 1629 An Answer to the XX Chapter of the Fifth Booke of Cardinall Perron's Reply, Written in French, to King James, Andrewes, in his discussion of invocation of saints provided a rather lengthy list of prayers to various saints. The editor of the LACT edition of this work concluded that these prayers were lifted from Chemnitz' 1574 Examinis, in which Chemnitz professed to have quoted most of them from the Hours of the Virgin used in the Church of Hildensheim and other German office books. See, Andrewes, MW, pp. 76-80.

¹²⁷W. Goode, then, would seem to be wrong when he identified Andrewes' teaching on eucharistic change as a "great change of *character* and *use* in the elements". The Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist 2: 814. Pusey was nearer the truth when he associated Andrewes' teaching with his own view that a proper understanding of the sacramental change means that the consecrated elements do not remain *simply* what they were before and what they appear to be. The Articles Treated on in Tract 90, p. 44.

¹²⁸Works, 5: 121.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Ibid.; see also, pp. 108-109.

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 108-109.

¹³²/The Anglicanism of Cuming, /John Cosin, pp. 8-9; Dugmore, Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 104-105.

¹³³Correspondence, 1: 243. Already in a 1633 sermon, Cosin had compared the water of baptism with the eucharistic bread and wine. In both sacraments, he argued, the elements "are no more than other such elements are", but are consecrated and set apart to "these holy uses; for which Christ hath ordained and appointed them". Works, 1: 160. This may have been the beginning of Cosin's shift in thinking, but the language is vague enough to admit of different interpretations.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 244. In this work, Cosin also appealed to Theophylact, who, he claimed, taught that the bread is not "substantially", but "virtually" changed. Ibid., p. 273. Cosin argued that the conversion in reference to the "change and advancement of their [the elements] common condition, in ceasing to be bare bread and wine, and becoming Divine and sacred Mysteries of His Body and Blood...". Ibid., p. 268. It is a "mutation of use, vertue, and title, which they had not before they were consecrated, and assumed to this religious imployment...". Ibid., p. 257.

¹³⁵...ubi non substantialem, sed sacramentalem, panis mutationem in hoc mysterio esse docet [Chrysostom]; secundum quam externa elementa ipsarum rerum significatarum nomine vocentur, et ita mutantur, ut pristinae tamen substantiae naturam retineant. Works, 4: 69.

¹³⁶Et est sane illa mutatio vere magna, eaque non naturalis, sed supernaturalis: non tamen substantialis, sive mutatio unius substantiae, quae substantialiter esse desinat, in alium quae substantialiter esse incepiat; sed mutatio status ac conditionis, quae ipsam substantiam et propriam essentiam elementi non mutat. Ibid., p. 100.

¹³⁷Ibid., pp. 99-103.

¹³⁸*Sic enim sunt et manere dicuntur quae erant per naturam, ut tamen in aliud commutentur per gratiam, hoc est, ut sint certa et indubitata symbola Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, adeoque etiam vera iustitiae et redemptionis nostrae pignora.* Ibid., pp. 68-69.

¹³⁹... qua externa symbola in res ipsas divinas conversa esse non aliam ob causam dicuntur, quam quia vere et efficaciter illas repraesentant... Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁴¹Introducitur igitur in hac mutatione non substantiae, sed usus tantum, novitas... Ibid., p. 106. See, p. 93, ft.nt. 1.

¹⁴²...sed in hunc finem, per verba Christi, solemmniter consecrata, ut communicationi Corporis et Sanguinis Sui certissime inserviant. Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁴⁴A New Gagg for an Old Goose, p. 255.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Appello Caesarem, p. 294.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Montague used Morton, a very anti-Roman bishop, as evidence of his own orthodoxy.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 295. St. Ambrose wrote: *Tu forte dicis: Meus panis est usitatus. Sed panis iste est ante verba sacramentorum (De Consec. dist. 2 c. Panis est): ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro... Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum... Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini Jesu, ut inciperent esse quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quae erant, et in aliud commutentur?* PL, 16/17: 441.

¹⁵⁰Appello Caesarem, pp. 295-96.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 296.

¹⁵²Footnote e, p. 106 of Morton's Of the Institution is as follows: "Ambros. Forte dices, meus panis est usitatus: sed panis iste ante verba Sacramentorum, panis est, ubi accesserit consecratio de pane fit caro Christi. De Sacram. lib. 4, cap. 4 whereupon Bellarmine thus: *Quid potuit clarius?* And yet Ambrose saith also of the elements, *Operatorius sermo est ut sint quae erant, & in aliud commutentur, or else operentur.* But to be the same they were, taketh away transubstantiation into another nature, yet changed into the use to be instruments of Grace by faith, as his owne similitude doth illustrate: *Tu ipse eras* . . .

vetus creatura, postquam consecratus es, nova creatura esse coepisti: accipe igitur quemadmodum sermo Christi omnem creaturam mutare consueverit". (See also, PL, 16/17: 441 for these references to Ambrose's De Sacramentis.)

¹⁵³For the Edwardian epiciclesis, supra, p. 34 ; for the epiciclesis in the Scottish rite, see, William Keeling, ed., Liturgiae Britannicae (London: William Pickering; Cambridge: J. & J. Deighton, 1842), p. 214.

¹⁵⁴Works, 3: 354 (The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, first published 1694).

¹⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 354-55.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 355 [emphasis is mine]. Dugmore has argued that this work of Laud, written during his days in the Tower "can therefore be taken as an expression of his mature opinion". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 47, ft.nt. 7. While it was indeed Laud's last work, it does not necessarily express his "mature opinion", since it was written under a great deal of political pressure in which the Archbishop needed to defend himself against the charge of Romanizing (among other charges). This may suggest, as I hope to show in the next chapter, that Laud's appeal to a change in terms of use was more of a rescue operation than an authentic expression of his own thinking.

¹⁵⁷Works, 4: 271.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 9: 431-32.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 464.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 432.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 10: 61.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁶³Ibid., pp. 63-64.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 65, 68. See, e.g., Chrysostom's statement *In /αὐτόν Matthaeum Homil. LXXXII. al. LXXXIII: 'Ἴδοὺ αὐτόν ὁρᾷς αὐτοῦ ἄπτη / ἐσθίεις. Καὶ σὺ μὲν ἑμάτια ἐπιθυμεῖς ἰδεῖν αὐτόν δε εἰαυτόν σοι διδώσιν, οὐκ ἰδεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄψασθαι, καὶ φυγεῖν, καὶ λαβεῖν ἔνδον. PG, 57/58: 743. See also, PG, 11: 345 (De Poenitentia, Homil. 9).*

¹⁶⁵Works, 10: 64-65 (The Real Presence).

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 66-67. See also, PG, 33: 1,090-92 (Catechesis 21, Mystagogica 3).

¹⁶⁸Works, 10: 66-67. See p. 140, ft.nt. 1 for this first passage from Chrysostom and PG, 48: 753 (Homil. 5, De Incomprehensibili contra

Anomoeos). For the second passage, see, PG, 11: 345 (De Poenitentia, Homil. 9).

¹⁶⁹Works, 9: 480 (The Real Presence).

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 15: 299-300. See also, W. Jardine Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: SPCK, 1958), pp. 193-94.

¹⁷¹Works, 15: 300; Anglican Liturgies, p. 194 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁷²Anglican Liturgies, p. 25.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁷⁴A Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer in Cases Ordinary and Extraordinary; Taken out of the Scriptures and the Ancient Liturgies of Several Churches, Especially the Greek, Together with a Large Preface in Vindication of the Liturgy of the Church of England. Works, 15: 237; Anglican Liturgies, p. 19.

¹⁷⁵An Office or Order for the Administration of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, According to the Way of the Apostolical Churches, and the Doctrine of the Church of England. Works, 15: 290; Anglican Liturgies, p. 185.

¹⁷⁶Dugmore, Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 96 ff.

¹⁷⁷Montague appealed to Hooker in Appello Caesarem, p. 291; Laud appealed to Ridley and Hooker in his Conference with Fisher (Works, 2: 320-21, 330); Cosin possessed Jewel's Apology and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, which are still in his library at Durham, and he appealed to them, among other English divines, in his Historia Transubstantionis Papalis (Works, 4: 18 ff.); Taylor, in a 1660 letter, advised Hooker's Book five of Ecclesiastical Polity as a book to be included in a new theological library. Works, 1: lxxxix (Heber-Eden edition).

¹⁷⁸Whitaker, Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 56-57.

¹⁷⁹Institution, 4: 17: 14.

¹⁸⁰Ibid.; for similar comparisons, see also the 1566 Second Helvetic Confession and the 1563 Heidelberg Catechism. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions, pp. 280, 319. It can be pointed out that Cosin (he possessed Calvin's Institutio and Tractatus Theologici Omnes in his own library) and Laud (he cited Calvin's Institutio several times in his Conference with Fisher), were not ignorant of this work of Calvin in Latin.

¹⁸¹Certaine Analyticall and Orthodoxe Propositions Upon the Lord's Supper found in An Apology for the Holy Supper of the Lord, trans. E. Skipworth (London: T. S. for N. Butter, 1612), p. 32 (Proposition 42).

¹⁸²The Practice of Piety, Directing a Christian How to Walk, that He May Please God, new ed., ed., Grace Webster (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1842), p. 224. The date of the first edition of this work is unknown. The work was a very popular one, and by 1619 it had reached its eleventh

edition.

¹⁸³Replie to a Relation, pp. 332-33.

¹⁸⁴Forbes does not figure in this discussion, since, as he explicitly stated in *Considerationes*, 2: 480, the word "conversion" as well as "transubstantiation" had given rise to dissension and controversy, with theologians attempting to explain the nature of the conversion. This may explain his reluctance to discuss the eucharistic presence in terms of a change or transformation.

¹⁸⁵Works, 4: 73.

¹⁸⁶Ibid. Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, σὺκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου... PG, 7: 1,028-29.

¹⁸⁷Works, 4: 77 (Epilogue).

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 1: 350.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 351.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 4 (Part 2): 545 (Epilogue).

¹⁹²Ibid., 4: 34 (Epilogue): "But this change consisting in the assistance of the Holy Ghost, Which makes the elements, in which It dwells, the Body and Blood of Christ; ...". Compare this teaching with that of Calvin in his *Institution* 4: 14: 17, where he specifically repudiated the idea that the Holy Spirit is enclosed in the elements, as if in vessels or vehicles.

¹⁹³Ibid., 5: 16 (A Letter Concerning the Present State of Religion Amongst Us, first published in 1565).

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 5: 173.

¹⁹⁵Ibid. For a text from St. Gregory, see ft.nt. s and also, PG, 45: 96-97.

¹⁹⁶Works, 4: 47 (Epilogue). See also 4: 69 for a similar passage.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., 5: 545-55 (The Reformation of the Church of England Better than that of the Council of Trent, written between 1670 and 1672).

¹⁹⁹The Greek Liturgies, Chiefly from Original Authorities, ed., C. A. Swainson (Cambridge: University Press, 1884), pp. 130-31.

²⁰⁰St. Gregory's words are: Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύσμαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα, ἄρτος τῇ δυνάμει ἦν.

Ἡγιασθῆ δὲ τῇ ἐπισκηνώσει τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ σκηνώσαντος ἐν τῇ σαρκί. Οὕκοῦν ὅθεν ὁ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ σώματι μεταποιηθεὶς ἄρτος, εἰς θείαν μεθίστη δύναμιν, διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν τὸ ἴσον γίνεται. Ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἡ τοῦ Λόγου χάρις, ἅγιον ἐποιεῖτο σῶμα ᾧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἡ σύστασις ἦν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ αὐτό ἄρτος ἦν. ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ὡσαύτως ὁ ἄρτος, καθὼς φησιν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἀγιάζεται διὰ Λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, οὐ διὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως προῦν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου, ἀλλ' εὐθύς πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λόγου μεταποιούμενος, καθὼς εἴρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου, ὅτι Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου. PG, 45: 96-97. W. Goode was correct when he wrote: "And all the apparently stringent passages [of Thorndike] quoted in the Catena [of the Tractarians] in favour of such a presence, [of the real body and blood] merely mean, that the Holy Spirit, being united to the elements, and also united to the flesh and blood of Christ, the flesh and blood and the elements are in a sense one, and thus a *sacramental body and blood* of Christ come into existence." The Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist, 2: 906.

²⁰¹ This "confession" was approved by the Council of Jassy in 1642, by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem in 1643, and by the Council of Jerusalem in 1672. Stone, Doctrine of the Eucharist, 1: 177-78. For the Greek text, see Philip Schaff, The Creeds of Christendom, 4th ed., 3 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1877), 2: 382-83.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 428; Stone, History of the Eucharist, pp. 179-81. These Orthodox "confessions" were concerned to condemn the eucharistic teaching of Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, who in 1629 had published a confession espousing a Reformed 'true' presence doctrine of the sacrament. Ibid., pp. 175-77. See also, for a discussion of these confessions, John Meyendorff, The Orthodox Church. Its Past and Its Role in the World Today, trans. John Chapin (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1962), pp. 92-97.

²⁰³ It is little wonder that H. C. Groves wrote: "I have omitted Thorndike [in a discussion of eucharistic doctrine of the Anglican divines of the times of James I and Charles I] simply because he admits that, in one respect at least his teaching [with regard to adoration] was opposed to the Church's and because we have proof that by Churchmen of his day he was regarded as innovating in doctrine." The Teaching of the Anglican Divines of the Time of King James I and King Charles I on the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist (London: J. H. & J. Parker, 1858), p. 8.

IV: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BREAD AND THE PRESENCE OF THE BODY

The Anglican theologians under consideration were not willing to accept any theory of eucharistic conversion which implied the destruction or elimination of any part of the earthly elements. Change there might be, but bread and wine remained in their entirety. Given this understanding of the nature of eucharistic transformation, the question necessarily arises as to how they understood the relationship between the sacramental signs and the presence of the body and blood of Christ.

Saravia's De Sacra Eucharistia contains a well-developed understanding of this relationship. He argued that, while images and similitudes (*imagines et similitudines*) often are images and similitudes of things absent and which no longer exist, this is not the case in the eucharist. The bread which is the likeness of the body and the wine which is the likeness of the blood are not only *similitudines* of the divine things, but they set forth the heavenly parts as well. The sacraments of Christ "exhibit" what they signify in an *ineffabilis*, but *verus et infallibilis* manner: *Fixum enim hoc apud Patres erat, Christi Sacramenta exhibere Quae significant. Modus quidem ineffabilis est, verus tamen et infallibilis.*¹ By His words at the institution of the sacrament, Christ made part of the eucharist to be the presence of His body and blood, so as to guarantee a *Realis Exhibitio* of Him, and not a commemoration of Him as absent.²

Saravia clarified further what he meant by the "exhibition" of Christ by describing the relationship between the earthly signs and the heavenly gifts in terms of a union or conjunction between them. While

he repudiated "consubstantiation" (and very few Reformed or Anglican divines of that era did not attack it!³), he never clearly defined what he meant by this term. The closest he came to an explanation was when he stated that people disputed about sacraments as if they were permanent things apart from their use, or were mixtures of diverse substances: *Plerique de sacramentis Novi Testamenti ita disputant ac si res quaedam essent extra usum permanentes et ex substantiis diversis mixtae...*⁴ The union of the bread and the body should rightly be seen as a *conjunctio relationis, non substantiae*.⁵ This meant for Saravia that the bread has a relation to the body such that he who receives the bread also *certo et vere* receives the body. The body is not present in the eucharist *absolute et simpliciter* in the same way in which it is circumscribed in one place in heaven, but is present *in typo* and by *sacramentali unione*.⁶ Saravia used St. Irenaeus' expression, *Eucharistiam constare duabus rebus, terrena et coelesti*,⁷ and employed St. Augustine's language of *Sacramentum* and *Res Sacramenti*⁸ to describe the nature of the eucharist. The sacrament, being made up of two parts, the visible or earthly and the invisible or heavenly, cannot be properly understood if one attempts to separate the one part from the other, Saravia argued. To separate the bread from the body or vice versa is to destroy the whole meaning of the sacrament:

Quum igitur istae partes sacramenti Coenae Domini sint essentielles, panis et Corpus Christi, vinum et Ipsius Sanguis, ab invicem non possunt separari nec separata intelligi. Quod si fit, interit tota ratio sacramenti, quae necessario duabus rebus constat, nempe visibili et invisibili.

The sacramental union is analogous to the hypostatical union in the person of Christ:

Et Quemadmodum propter intimam illarum duarum naturam personalem unionem, naturalium

proprietatum communio nascitur, et Deus vere dicitur esse homo, et similiter, homo vere dicitur esse Deus, sic, propter conjunctionem sacramentalem, panis dicitur¹⁰ Christi Caro, et Christi Caro dicitur panis.

Consequently, he argued, to those who take the sacrament, the bread is flesh and wine is blood on account of the sacramental union.¹¹ When the eucharistic bread and wine are distributed, the body and blood are given, *...quando nobis panis Eucharisticus porrigitur, Christi Corpus vere nobis porrigi; similiter quando vinum nobis datur, Christi Sanguinem dari.*¹²

As an example of this sacramental union, Saravia appealed to the recantation of Berengarius, which, he maintained, applied to the whole sacrament that which is done only to part. This is a common use of language, Saravia argued, such that when the bread is said to be broken, it is said without limitation (*indefinite*) of the whole sacrament. One can speak of breaking that part of the sacrament, Christ's body, which is not at all broken, inasmuch as a breaking takes place in that part of the sacrament, the bread, which can admit the action. Christ, then, is said to be broken, eaten and crushed with the teeth, when in fact He remains unbroken and never consumed.¹³ The error of Berengarius, Saravia claimed, was that he considered the sacrament to be completed only by signification and took no account of the invisible part, the body and blood, by which the sacrament subsists. When he recanted, he confessed that after the consecration, the invisible part is present, is handled by the priest and is crushed with the teeth, because this occurs visibly to the bread.¹⁴ There was nothing in this recantation, Saravia stated, which was not found in the old orthodox Fathers (*Nihil enim Berengarii recantatio continet quod apud veteres orthodoxos non inveniatur.....*).¹⁵

This position which Saravia put forward in the discussion of sacramental union suggests a conjunction of the sign and the thing signified such that *when* the bread is given, the body also is given, a *conjunctio relationis*, as he called it. His explicit rejection of "consubstantiation" and the mixing of substances may lead one to conclude that he did not envisage a sacramental union in which the body of Christ can be held in the hand when the bread is held. Moreover, his approval of Berengarius' recantation was based on his understanding of the *linguistic* relationship between the bread and the body, i.e., one can speak of breaking the body only improperly, in that the bread is broken.

Nevertheless, Saravia also used language expressing belief in a presence *in* and *under* the elements. The eucharist, he argued, is the presence of God Himself, a presence analogous to the presence of God in the sanctuary of the Tabernacle, in the Ark of the Covenant, in the burning bush and on Mount Sinai. Those were not only signs of God's mercy, but the very presence of God Himself. So in the eucharist, it is the presence of God our Saviour in the bread and wine, no less than in those Old Testament places: *Nam in Pane et Vino non minor Dei Servatoris nostri Praesentia, non minor Gratia, non minor Sanctitas...*¹⁶ Moreover, Saravia approvingly claimed that Bucer had testified to the correctness of Luther's judgement concerning *Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Pane et Vino*, and that, *nec se ab eo dissentire*.¹⁷ Saravia also said that the communion of the body and blood of Christ is made *sub specie panis et vini*.¹⁸ The hidden characteristic, or "underness" of the body and blood was expressed by Saravia in terms of a veil (*vellum*); if one were to take away the veil of bread and wine, one would get sight of the whole passion of Christ, His crucified body

and blood:

*In externo Pane et Vino nobis non est haerendum
Fidei oculis penetrare nos convenit ad Alteram
hujus Mysterii partem Quae oculis conspicua non
est. Tollamus igitur vellum Panis et Vini, et
Domini totam Passionem conspiciemus; videbimus
Christum coeli ac terrae Regem, luctantem cum
Mortis et Inferni doloribus; videbimus Sanguinem
toto fluentem Corpore ex Ipsius vulneribus;
videbimus Aeternum Sacerdotem Seipsum in sacri-
ficio offerentem Deo Patri in remissionem
peccatorum.*¹⁹

It could be argued, and with some legitimacy, that the language of Saravia which we have looked at so far only means that Christ's body is somehow present in the sacrament, without implying that it is present where the bread is. There are, however, several passages in which he affirmed that Christ's body is present in or under the sacramental sign in such a way that the person holding the bread is holding the body. In one of these, he argued that the presence of Christ in the sacrament is different from the heavenly presence, which is according to the nature of a true body (*secundum veri corporis modum*). The bread and wine are seals and testimonies of a *praesentia nobis incomprehensibilis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini*.²⁰ Christ distributes from heaven His body and blood *by the hands of His ministers (per manus ministrorum Suorum)*, just as He gave Himself with His own hands at the Last Supper. The modes of His body's presence are different: just as it lay at the table on Maundy Thursday there was one mode, and as it was in the sacrament and in the mouths of the disciples there was another mode: *Et sicut tunc alius erat praesentiae modus Corporis accumbentis, et alius in sacramento et ore comedentis...*²¹ Similarly, according to Saravia there is one manner of presence of the body in heaven and another manner *in forma panis et vini* in the holy eucharist. In both cases it is *realis et verus*, and there is no difference between that

which is given on earth and that which is still in heaven, in terms of identity (*quævis non aliud et aliud sit quod datur in terris, et tamen est in coelis*).²² Christ, while still on earth, gave His flesh to be eaten; He Himself gave and was given; He was the bearer and was Himself borne.²³ Saravia appealed to the words of St. Augustine in this matter,²⁴ and concluded by encouraging agreement with the common judgement of the ancient, orthodox Fathers regarding the true and real presence.²⁵

Saravia also defended the possibility of God making present the body of Christ in several places in a supernatural and divine manner. While this does not take place according to nature, it can occur by divine power overruling nature:

*Disputatur de vera et reali Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in hoc Sacramento praesentia; illam pluribus in locis simul non posse exhiberi, quia hoc sit contra veri corporis modum et naturam, quod localiter suis dimensionibus est circumscriptum, cui si illas adimas, naturam corporis simul adimis. Sed respondetur quod inde non efficitur, Illum Qui Deus est et omnia creavit ex nihilo, praesentem Suo Corpore pluribus in locis, ubicunque volet, modo supernaturali ac divino se sistere non posse. Ordine quidem naturae id non fieri certum est; sed potentia divina quae superat omnem naturae ordinem.*²⁶

Divine mysteries, Saravia asserted, should not be examined according to natural argumentation, since they are beyond the reach and grasp of human understanding.²⁷

The appearances of Christ on earth after His ascension, such as to Saul on the road to Damascus, were without any local movement of the body of Christ, yet prove that He can make Himself present whenever and wherever He willed. There is no impiety in believing the body of the Lord to be present in many places at the same time, after a divine, spiritual, heavenly and supernatural manner, without any multiplication

or extension of the body (*in pluribus locis divina et spirituali, coelesti et supernaturali, sine Corporis multiplicatione aut extensione*).²⁸

The question in the eucharistic controversy, however, concerns not so much the power of God as His will, Saravia argued.²⁹

Some claim that those who do not believe in a real presence of Christ's body on earth have a better belief concerning the power of Christ, than do those who consider Him to be actually present with His body and blood in the mysteries. These people claim that the cause which exercises its efficiency at a greater distance and has as much power when absent and remote as when present and nearby should be considered to be of greater efficacy (a reference ostensibly to the Calvinists).³⁰

In response to this, Saravia pleaded for mutual toleration by the conflicting parties,³¹ yet argued that in the mysteries God does not so much take into account His own power as human infirmity. He has instituted the sacrament in order to nourish man's heavenly and spiritual life by heavenly and spiritual meat and drink, i.e., by Christ's own flesh and blood (*coelesti spiritualique cibo et potu, hoc est, Carne et Sanguine Suo*).³² Saravia concluded this part of his discussion by stating that all those who have a right understanding do not deny a real presence; the controversy concerns only the *modus*.³³

It was belief in this real presence, Saravia asserted, which gave birth to the acclamations found in the writings of St. Chrysostom and others, to which Saravia added, ... *a quorum verbis ego abhorrendum non censeo*.³⁴ The text of Chrysostom which he cited is one in which the father acclaims that by a miracle Christ is both present at the Father's right hand and yet is detained in the hands of communicants: *O ingens miraculum, O magnam Dei benevolentiam erga nos. Is qui sedet supra cum Patre, illa hora omnium detinetur manibus, et dat Se volentibus circun-*

*dare et complecti.*³⁵

Saravia defended the belief that Christ's heavenly body still has the nature of a true body (*illa quam habet in coelo secundum veri corporis modum*),³⁶ yet he assented to the patristic teaching of a miracle in which Christ is believed to be present simultaneously in heaven and in the hands of the receivers. That Saravia understood the body, and not just a sign of the body, to be present on earth, is supported by another passage in which he remarked that if anyone considers what it is which he holds in his hands when he takes the eucharistic bread and cup, i.e., the body and blood, he should be moved to adoration:

*Majestas hujus Sacramenti tanta est ut si quis
fide cogitet Quid sit Quod manibus tenet quando
Panem Poculumve accipit, origine suo applicat,
nempe Carnem esse Christi Domini Sui crucifixam,
et fusam Novi Testamenti Sanguinem, adeoque
Ipsam Novum Testamentum, non admiratione
Ipsarum Rerum percussus Se totum prosternat
ante tribunal gratiae Dei?*³⁷

At this point we must remind ourselves that, as we have already seen (supra, p. 180), Saravia did not accept either a permanent sacramental union apart from use or a "mixing" of two "substances" in the eucharist. Nor did he understand his own affirmation about Christ's presence on earth as implying a "local" presence of the body in the bread.³⁸ How, then, are we to interpret his teaching of the relationship between Christ's presence and the earthly symbols?

It would seem that there are two different strands of thinking in Saravia's teaching. On the one hand, one finds an emphasis on the *temporal* connection between the bread and the body, i.e., *when* the bread is given, the body is given. As we have already seen, sixteenth-century divines, such as Ridley, Calvin, Rogers and Hooker (supra, pp. 27, 29, 44, 47, 48), held positions similar to this.³⁹ On the other hand, despite

his denial of a "local" presence, Saravia was willing to describe the presence of Christ's body as *in* the bread and communion with the body as *under the form* of bread - a marked Lutheran tendency!⁴⁰

Luther, that "great /^{/servant} of God", to use Saravia's words, (supra, p. 143) had taught that the body of Christ is held in the priest's hand, on the chalice, paten, corporal, and with the communicant's mouth.⁴¹ The Augustana of 1530 (to which Saravia assented),⁴² had stated that the true body and blood are given *unter der gestalt des Brots und Weins*.⁴³ Chemnitz, whose writings could have been among those Lutheran works which Saravia professed to know, had argued that it is a *stupendum miraculum* that the body of Christ, which is in heaven, can also be at the same time on earth in the holy eucharist.⁴⁴ Heading the list of patristic passages which Chemnitz used to show that the early Church believed in such a simultaneous presence, is the same passage from St. Chrysostom, later used by Saravia, which states that Christ is both at the Father's side and is handled by earthly hands.⁴⁵ Moreover, Chemnitz had also maintained that Lutherans taught neither a "local enclosing of Christ's body in the bread, nor a crass, physical mixing of substances":

*Nec quaestio est de locali inclusione corporis Christi in pane, nec de crassa aut physica aliqua commixtione corporis Christi cum elementis: Nec de Capernaitica commolitione deglutitione & ingurgitatione corporis & sanguinis Christi. Nec de crassa & physica substantiarum permixtione, qualis fit in reliquis corporalibus cibis, qui in ventrem descendunt. Illa omnia enim reiicimus & improbamus.*⁴⁶

The Korkordienformel, which taught a union of two substances in the eucharist⁴⁷ (language which Saravia disliked), nevertheless, distinguished the presence of Christ's body in the bread from a mode of presence occupying space,⁴⁸ and repudiated any permanent union between the bread and the body outside of the eucharistic action.⁴⁹

The Lutheranizing tendency in Saravia's understanding of the relationship between the eucharistic presence and the earthly elements was the dominant strand in his thinking. As such, it is indicative of a marked divergence both from the Calvinistic tradition out of which he came⁵⁰ and from his own earlier understanding as it found expression in the 1561 Belgic Confession.⁵¹ In addition, it shows a radical shift away from the dominant stream of sixteenth-century English eucharistic thinking, which, as we saw in the first chapter, refused to associate spatially Christ's presence with the bread and wine.⁵²

In the writings of Bishop Andrewes we find a similar theological shift. The sacrament, he affirmed, exhibits Christ's body and blood: "And it hath been and it is therefore an ordinance in the Church for ever, that as upon this day [Easter], at the returning of it continually, His flesh and blood should be in the Sacrament exhibited to us;...."⁵³ As with Saravia, the key for understanding the nature of this "exhibition" language of Andrewes is to be found in his teaching on the union between the body of Christ and the eucharistic bread. As we have already seen,⁵⁴ he argued against transubstantiation by using a Christological analogy; the union of the visible sacrament and the invisible reality of the sacrament was like the union between the humanity and divinity in the person of Christ (*Ea nempe conjunctio inter Sacramentum visiblile, et rem Sacramenti invisiblilem, quae inter humanitatem et divinitatem Christi...*).⁵⁵ Andrewes later expressed this same idea in his 1623 Christmas sermon in which he compared the sacramental union to the hypostatical union in Christ:

And the gathering or vintage of these two in the blessed Eucharist, is as I may say a kind of hypostatical union of the sign and the thing signified, so united together as are the two natures of Christ. And even from this Sacramental union do the Fathers

borrow their resemblance, to illustrate by it the personal union in Christ; I name Theodoret for the Greek, and Gelasius for the Latin Church, that insist upon it both, and press it against Eutyches. That even as in the Eucharist neither part is evacuate or turned into the other, but abide each still in his former nature and substance, no more is either of Christ's natures annulled, or one of them converted into the other, as Eutyches held, but each nature remaineth still full and whole in his own kind. And backwards; as the two natures in Christ, so the *signum* and *signatum* in the Sacrament, *e converso*.⁵⁶

Against Bellarmine, Andrewes had argued that St. Augustine taught that the sacrament is made up of both the *species* of the visible elements and the invisible body and blood of Christ.⁵⁷ This language of Andrewes' is vague enough to admit of a variety of meanings. In his discussion of adoration, however, he was forced to clarify what this meant in terms of the relationship between the visible and invisible parts of the sacrament. Christ, he stated, is present "in" and "with" the sacrament, and so is to be adored:

*'Sacramenti, id est, Christi in Sacramento'. Imo Christus ipse Sacramenti res, et, et cum Sacramento; extra, et sine Sacramento, ubi ubi est, 'adorandus' est. Rex James I autem Christum in Eucharistia vere 'praesentem', vere et 'adorandus' statuit, rem scilicet Sacramenti; at non Sacramentum, 'terrenam' scilicet 'partem', ut Irenaeus, 'visibilem', ut Augustinus.*⁵⁸

While even this passage has not been accepted by some as evidence for a presence in the elements,⁵⁹ Andrewes' position becomes clearer in his claim that the flesh of Christ is adored in the mysteries, and Christ, who is upon the altar, is worshipped: *Nos vero 'et in mysteriis carnem Christi' adoramus, cum Ambrosio: et non, 'id', sed 'Eum qui super Altare colitur'. Male enim, 'quid ibi colatur', quaerit Cardinalis, cum 'quis', debuit: Cum Nazianzenus, 'Eum' dicat non 'id'.*⁶⁰ This certainly suggests that Andrewes understood there to be a spatial connection between the eucharistic presence and the elements of bread

and wine.

This is confirmed throughout his sermons, where there are passages in which he used language of place to describe the presence of Christ's body and blood. The blood of Christ, he said in 1609, is in the chalice:

In which Cup is the Blood not only of our redemption, of the covenant that freeth us from the Law and maketh the destroyer pass over us; but of our adoption, of the New Testament also which entitles us and conveys unto us, testamentwise or by way of legacy, the estate we have in the joy and bliss of His Heavenly Kingdom whereto we are adopted.⁶¹

In another sermon, he said that the Church building is a true Bethlehem, the 'House of Bread', since in this house the *Panis Angelorum* can be found. Even *stricte loquendo*, the Church is very Bethlehem, no less than the town itself:

We speak of the *transeamus usque Bethlehem*, 'going thither', That may we even locally do and never go out of this room, inasmuch as here is to be had the 'true Bread of life that came down from Heaven', which is 'His flesh' this day born, which 'He gave for the life of the world', called by Him so, the true Bread, the Bread of Heaven, the Bread of life - and where that Bread is, there is Bethlehem ever. Even *stricte loquendo*, it may be said and said truly, the Church in this sense is very Bethlehem no less than the town itself. For that the town itself never had the name rightly all the while there was but bread made there, bread (*panis hominum*) 'the bread of men'. Not till this Bread was born there, which is *Panis Angelorum*, as the Psalm calleth it, 'and man did eat Angels' FOOD'. Then, and never till then, was it Bethlehem; and that is in the Church, as truly as ever in it. And accordingly the Church takes order we shall never fail of it. There shall ever be this day a Bethlehem to go to - a house wherein there is bread, and this bread. And shall there be Bethlehem, and so near us, and shall we not go to it? Or, shall we go to it, to the House of Bread, this Bread, and come away without it?⁶²

In his 1618 Christmas sermon, Andrewes compared the eucharistic elements to the Christmas manger in which Christ was to be found:

For finding His flesh and blood, ye cannot miss but find Him too. And a sign, not much from this here. For Christ in the Sacrament is not altogether unlike Christ in the cratch. To the cratch we may well liken the husk or outward symbols of it. Outwardly it seems little worth but it is rich of contents, as was the crib this day with Christ in it. For what are they, but *infirma et egena elementa*, 'weak and poor elements' of themselves? yet in them find we Christ. Even as they did this day in *praesepe jumentorum panem Angelorum*, 'in the beasts' crib the food of Angels'; which very food our signs both represent, and present unto us.⁶³

This comparison of the sacrament to the manger was made by St. John Chrysostom,⁶⁴ and was also used by Chemnitz to show that Christ's body is present on earth wherever the eucharist is celebrated.⁶⁵ Andrewes also explicitly stated in 1620 that the body of Christ is in the vessel containing the bread: "And in the Old Ritual of the Church we find that on the cover of the canister, wherein was the sacrament of His body, there was a star engraven, to shew us that now the star leads us thither to His body there".⁶⁶

Andrewes' understanding of the relationship between the eucharistic bread and the body of Christ can also be seen in his discussions of the sacrament's reservation. In his 1610 *Responsio*, he expressly maintained that the eucharist ought not to be reserved, and there should be no adoration or carrying about of a reserved sacrament, since these practices are outside the *finem sacramenti*:

*Nam 'circumgestare' hoc vestrum 'praecepto' Christi contrarium, nec ei usquam Scriptura favet. Contrarium et 'instituto'. 'Institutum' enim tum 'Sacrificii', ut 'absumi'; tum 'Sacramenti', ut 'accipi, manducari', non recondi et circumferri. Extra Sacramenti finem, extra praecepti vim, usus haud ullus. Fiat, quod fieri voluit Christus cum dixit, 'Hoc facite'; nihil reliqui fiet, quod monstret Sacerdos, quod adoret populus, de pyxide.*⁶⁷

Earlier in the *Responsio*, Andrewes stated that what remains of the eucharistic elements should be burned: *Inter mysteria ducimus, (et quidem Mysterium est 'Eucharistia' ipsa) cujus, quod reliquum est, debet*

*igne absumi;.....*⁶⁸

Several years later in his 1629 Stricturae, he argued that while reservation was permitted for a long time in the primitive Church, with Christians being allowed to carry away the sacrament during times of persecution, and hermits and anchorites being allowed to take a sufficient amount to their isolated dwellings, the situation in the seventeenth century differed from this earlier period. Even the Church of Rome, Andrewes pointed out, no longer permitted the sacrament to be carried home. Because of abuse, the Council of Saragossa in 381 A.D. and the first Council of Toledo in 405 A.D. forbade the practice. Nor was the sacrament sent to countries far from Rome, as Cardinal du Perron had asserted, but it was distributed by the diaconate to visiting ecclesiastical officials in the city. The best reason for the reservation of the eucharist in the ancient Church was the communication of the sick. If a priest was not able to go to the sick person and consecrate the sacrament for him, it could be sent from the reserved sacrament, as in the case of Serapion. The reception of *viaticum* was of great devotional importance in the patristic age, "For it is sure they made far greater account of the receiving it as their *viaticum*, than some do now". Yet, the bishop argued, this reservation was not needed in the English Church since "at the desire of any that is in that case [sick], [we] may not refuse but go to him and minister to him. So that *Reservation* needeth not; the intent is had without it".⁶⁹

The position set out by Andrewes must be seen in light of Cardinal du Perron's negative comparison of the English Church, which did not reserve the eucharist, with the early Church, which, du Perron asserted, believed that the body of Christ was in the sacrament, even outside the use and on this occasion kept it after the consecration for communion at

homes, for giving to the sick, for carrying on the sea, for sending to distant provinces.⁷⁰ Andrewes' discussion of reservation concerned the *necessity* of the practice in the life of the Church. Could the English Church, which did not reserve the sacrament, still be one with the Church of the Fathers? Andrewes' response was that it could, since the *purpose* of ancient reservation, i.e., the communion of the sick, was still operating in the Church of England through private celebrations of the sacrament. In his "dialogue" with du Perron, however, Andrewes implicitly affirmed that it was ^{/a} genuine sacrament when the sick were communicated from the reserved elements in the early Church. This is another indication that he understood the sacramental union to be of such a nature as to bring together the bread and Christ's body within the dimensions of space and time.

Andrewes' position was far removed from that of many earlier and contemporary expositions of Reformed eucharistic teaching, for which the eucharist was not a presence which could be kept as an object and carried about for distribution to the sick, no matter how short the time interval separating celebration and communion. In this view, such a practice was opposed to the fundamental principle that there is no presence in the elements themselves.⁷¹

His teaching on this point had more in common with one strand of thinking found in sixteenth-century Lutheranism. Andrewes' concern that the elements should be either completely consumed or burned, reflects a view that the eucharistic bread and wine, even after the liturgy, should not be treated as common bread and wine again. Luther, while disliking reservation of the sacrament, thoroughly disapproved of the idea that one could mix together consecrated and unconsecrated elements after the celebration of mass, on the principle of *extra usum*

nullum sacramentum; such an action, he claimed, was informed by "Zwinglian insanity"! ⁷² Moreover, on at least one occasion, he explicitly affirmed the *permissibility* of carrying the sacrament from one altar to another or out of the church to the sick. ⁷³ Apart from the decree of the Diet of Onolzbach of 1526, which directed reservation for the sick, and the Brandenburg Church Order of 1540, which prescribed the carrying of the sacrament from the church to the homes of the sick, nearly every Lutheran Church order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries instructed that the elements were to be consumed; no Church order allowed the consecrated elements to be taken home for household use. ⁷⁴ Chemnitz, in his *Examinis* (which, we have suggested, Andrewes might have known), rejected reservation of the sacrament for his own day in favour of the unity of the sacramental action. Nevertheless, he did not deny that the reserved sacrament of the early Church was indeed the true sacrament (i.e., Christ's body united to bread). In fact, he specifically affirmed that the carrying away of the eucharistic elements for distribution, rather than for processions and extra-liturgical adoration, was within the *usus* of the sacrament: *In hisce exemplis omnibus [from the early Church] servatur adhuc sive usus sive actio, a Christi instituta. Eucharistia enim benedicta, statim ex coetu Ecclesiastico defertur, non ad circumgestionem, ostentationem & adorationem extra usum sed ad distributionem & sumptionem.* ⁷⁵

Andrewes' teaching of a sacramental union in terms of a conjunction of the earthly signs and the heavenly gifts *within space and time*, then, bears greater similarity to the sixteenth-century Gnesio-lutheran tradition than it does to the sixteenth-century English tradition, which we examined in chapter one. A rather significant way in which his belief expressed itself was in terms of the place of the eucharistic

celebration - the altar. Lutherans generally retained the altar, with its ornamentation, against the east wall of the chancel,⁷⁶ in contradistinction to the practice of both the continental Reformed churches and most English parish churches, which used free-standing tables.⁷⁷ By tradition, the east end was considered the most sacred part of the church,⁷⁸ and this accorded well (whether consciously or not) with the Lutheran belief in the unique presence of Christ in the elements on the altar. Andrewes showed his preference for this arrangement by having in his own private chapel the altar also permanently against the east wall, adorned with rich altar cloths, candles, alms dish and cushion for the service book, and fenced in by altar rails.⁷⁹ In his notes made in his own Book of Common Prayer, he directed numerous acts of adoration to be made when approaching and leaving the altar.⁸⁰ It is also significant that in accordance with his statement that the ciborium in the old ritual of the Church had a star on its cover so as to indicate that Christ's body was there (supra, p. 191), Andrewes included such a vessel among his own communion-ware.⁸¹ Such liturgical practices undoubtedly reflected the Bishop's understanding of the relationship between the eucharistic presence and the earthly elements on the altar;⁸² and may in turn have influenced his understanding as well. Which came first, the theory or the practice, is very difficult, if not impossible, to answer, being much like the question of the chicken and the egg. Most likely, in cases of this sort, after a certain point, theology and practice support each other.

In the early writings of Cosin, one finds a position similar to that of Andrewes. In his first series of notes on the Prayer Book, he asserted that after the consecration, the "Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that

receive it....".⁸³ This meant for Cosin that the body of Christ is present not only by virtue of and in the "use of the Sacrament", which he defined as eating, but "in virtue of the words of consecration", such that the "virtue of that consecration is not lost, though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick person or other". He maintained that some Lutherans⁸⁴ and all Calvinists seemed to depart from antiquity by placing the presence only in the eating.⁸⁵ Most Protestants at first, he argued, accepted the teaching that it is the consecration which effects the presence which endures in time, "though now the Calvinists make popish magic of it in their licentious blasphemy".⁸⁶ The source of these ideas is the *Consultatio* of the Roman Catholic theologian, George Cassander (1513-1566), from which Cosin quoted.⁸⁷ Cassander argued in his treatise that some of the evangelicals, such as Luther and Brentius, had openly taught the faith of the Catholic Church with regard to a presence in the elements, but that Calvinists, and later Lutherans in the *Saxon Confession*, wrongly placed the presence in the action of eating.⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, then, Cosin was registering his approval and acceptance of those "Protestants at first", the early Lutherans who placed the presence of Christ in the bread and wine. And this he did *via* the work of a Roman Catholic theologian!

He also appealed to the ancient practice of reservation, consumption, burning and giving the remaining elements of the sacrament to young children as indicating that the elements were not treated as common even after the celebration.⁸⁹ Commenting on the Prayer Book rubric which directed that any remaining bread and wine could be given to the curate for his own use,⁹⁰ he argued that this must not be understood as pertaining to the consecrated elements, "for else it were but a profanation of the holy Sacrament to let the curate have it home to his own use". It was "Nestorianism once to think", he asserted,

"that the consecrated bread, if it were kept *in crastinum*, became common bread again". Here he appealed to ^{/the teaching of} St. Cyril of Alexandria *via* St. Thomas Aquinas as he found it in Maldonatus' Disputationem.⁹¹

In these notes, Cosin explicitly drew a connection between the altar, the eucharist upon it, and the reverence due to both - a position which accorded well with his other statements about the sacramental presence:

And so when the Donatists, the old puritans of the primitive Church, arose, and made so slight an account of God's altars, and the blessed Sacrament upon them, as that they overturned and brake them down wheresoever they came, (just as our puritans⁹² are wont to do,) God sent many judgments upon them.

Cosin appealed to the practice of the Royal Chapel and the cathedrals, which retained the altars at the east end, over against the tables set up in many parish churches. The latter practice, he claimed, was the result of men being led by the "fashions which they had seen at Strasburg in Germany, and Geneva in France, and Zurich in Switzerland".⁹³

His affirmation that the body of Christ is present prior to the eating and drinking, his approval of the "Luther strand" of Lutheranism, his acceptance of the principle of a reserved sacrament, and his concern for a proper attitude toward the altar and the "blessed Sacrament" upon it are all expressions of Cosin's fundamental belief in an interpenetration in space and time of Christ's body and blood and the earthly bread and wine.⁹⁴ With the teaching of Andrewes already having opened up the theological scene in these directions, it is not surprising that Cosin's understanding was able to develop in the ways in which it did.

During the period during which the first series of notes was written (probably between 1619 and 1638), Cosin expressed the same belief in other works as well. For example, in his 1627 A Collection of Private Devotions, there is a hymn-based on that of St. Thomas Aquinas⁹⁵ which

includes the following verse:

What at Supper *Christ* performed
To be done he straightly charged
For his eternall memorie.
Guided by his sacred orders
Heavenly food upon our Altars⁹⁶
For our soules we sanctifie.

This "Heavenly food" "upon our Altars" is ostensibly a reference to the body of Christ, since bread alone would not be "Heavenly food". In Cosin's 1627 archdiaconal Articles, he specifically connected the distribution of the consecrated elements *as*, not *with*, the distribution of the body and blood: "Doth he [the priest] deliver the body and blood of our Lord to every communicant severally?"⁹⁷ In a 1633 sermon, he expressed concern that consecrated elements should not be treated as common food again:

Take another resemblance that it may affect you the better. The water in baptism, the bread and wine in the blessed sacrament, naturally they are no more than other such elements are, but being consecrate and set apart once to these holy uses, for which Christ hath ordained and appointed them, *quis eum non lapidibus obrueret*, saith Chrysostom, what punishment should not be deserved, that would usurp them to⁹⁸ common uses and profane them at his pleasure.

In the third series of notes on the Prayer Book (most of which were probably written before 1640), Cosin's understanding of the relationship between the earthly elements and the heavenly gifts was changing. Commenting on the rubric allowing the curate to have any remaining bread and wine to his own use, he stated that this "needed not be understood of that bread and wine which was blessed and consecrated", but then he added, "And yet we read of some such thing in the Constitutions of the Apostles", citing a passage which directed the distribution of what remained "of the blessings at the mysteries" to the clergy, readers, singers and others.⁹⁹ Several years later in his 1647 tract on

transubstantiation, while affirming that the "Sacrament of Bread" is "sacramentally" the body of Christ, he also insisted that "it is no more the Body of Christ it selfe, or no more transubstantiated into it, than Baptisme is into Faith".¹⁰⁰ In addition, he argued that if transubstantiation were true, the ancient practice of giving the left-over sacramental elements to young children would never have been permitted, "for the very reverence [the Church] would certainly have borne to the Flesh of our Saviour".¹⁰¹

In his Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, written in 1656, the change in Cosin's thinking was even clearer, quite likely having been influenced, at least in part, by Taylor's 1654 The Real Presence, which contained the same basic position as Cosin was to argue for in his work (see, pp. 214-215), and which at some point he had obtained for his library. In this treatise, Cosin now defined the sacramental union not as natural, substantial, personal or local, with the bread and Christ's body being in each other, ... *non sit naturalis, aut substantialis, aut hypostatica, aut localis (per unius in altero existentiam ...)*,¹⁰² but such that when the blessed bread is eaten, the body of Christ is given (*ut in comestione sacrati panis verum Christi Corpus nobis communicetur*).¹⁰³ The key for understanding his mature teaching on the sacramental union is his statement that bread and wine are united with the body and blood *in time*, but not in place, since the presence is not opposed to distance, but to absence: ... *sintque simul tempore, quae disjuncta sunt loco. Nam praesentia Corporis Christi in hoc mysterio, non distantiae, sed absentiae opponitur; et quidem ista, non illa, usum et fruitionem objecti intercipit*.¹⁰⁴ The all-important words in this understanding are *cum* and *quando*, i.e., with and when the bread is exhibited and given, the body is exhibited and given.¹⁰⁵ In

one passage, Cosin explicitly rejected the Roman interpretation of a spiritual presence as meaning a manner whereby Christ is present wholly and entirely in each part of the host (*quum sit totus in qualibet parte hostiae*), as spirits can be present, and that while Christ Himself is not seen, touched or moved, yet He is seen, touched and moved with respect to the accidents of bread and wine.¹⁰⁶ He may have been influenced in his thinking in this matter by Taylor's 1654 The Real Presence, which contained a similar rejection (see, p. 214).

Cosin drew out the implications of this position with regard to the permanence of the union by denying that the elements retain the nature of sacraments when they are not given and received by people, i.e., *extra usum*. Christ cannot be reserved or carried about in the consecrated bread, since he is present only to communicants: *Quinetiam negamus sacramentum, extra usum a Deo institutum, rationem habere sacramenti, in quo Christus reservari aut circumgestari debeat, aut possit; quum communicantibus tantum adsit.*¹⁰⁷ He explicitly rejected the opinion that Christ is present as long as the sacramental elements retain any resemblance of bread and wine. The ancient custom of burning the remaining bread stood against this opinion, since no Christian would have been willing to burn his Saviour's body and blood.¹⁰⁸

In the second series of notes on the Prayer Book, a similar understanding is expressed in Cosin's comments, and what is perhaps another influence on his thinking is revealed. In comments written after 1656,¹⁰⁹ he asserted that the bread is sacramentally united to the body only in the eating: "... the Body and Blood are sacramentally and really (not feignedly) present, when the blessed Bread and Wine are taken by the faithful communicants; and as true is it also, that they are not present, but only when the hallowed elements are so taken..."¹¹⁰

And again, "... in the very act of receiving them [the body and blood] and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally in that act united..."¹¹¹ And further, "*Ipsi autem interea dum accipiunt in genua procumbentes Christum Dominum, qui praesens eis digne edentibus et bibentibus adest, suumque Corpus manducandum, et Sanguinem bibendum exhibet, venerantur et adorant;...*"¹¹² This Latin text is significant because it is nearly a verbatim quotation from *De Sacrificio Christi semel in Cruce oblato et initerabili contra Pontificios*, the 1644 treatise of George Calixtus, an irenical Lutheran of the Melancthonian school.¹¹³ Throughout the second series of notes, references to and quotations from *De Sacrificio Christi* abound.

While Cosin conceded that the rubric concerning any remaining bread and wine after the service referred only to the unconsecrated elements, and while he asserted that the priest ought to be careful not to consecrate more than would be required for the communicants, he added in a later notation:

Yet if for lack of care they consecrate more than they distribute, why may not the curates have it to their own use, as well as be given to children, (*Concil. Matic.* c.2) or be burnt in the fire (*Isych. in Levitic.*) for though the bread and wine remain, yet the consecration, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, do not remain longer than the holy action itself remains for which the bread and wine were hallowed; and which being ended, return to their former use again?¹¹⁴

This was precisely how the *Puritan*, William Perkins, had argued in his 1597 *A Reformed Catholike!*¹¹⁵

While Cosin did not entirely eradicate his earlier language of a presence spatially joined with the elements,¹¹⁶ his later writings undoubtedly reflect a change in thinking. No longer did he think of a presence on the altar and extended in time. He came to abandon his earlier "Gnesio-lutheran" tendency, and accept the teaching of the

Melancthonian, Reformed, and sixteenth-century English traditions (which were one on this point), symbolized by his utilization of (if not dependence upon) George Calixtus. As G. J. Cuming has pointed out, it was a "step in the direction of receptionism, a doctrine for which in early days he had condemned the Protestant Churches as Nestorians".¹¹⁷

We must now return to the earlier part of the century. Montague, it seems, was not particularly interested in the question of how the earthly elements are related to the body and blood. The most that can be gleaned from his discussions of the eucharist is that in some mysterious and unknown manner, the bread and wine are the means for conveying the body and blood to communicants. As we saw in the discussion of sacramental change, Montague emphasized the use of the elements: "*They remained what they were indeed, yet changed in use, to be Instruments by Faith of Grace, as his own similitude doth illustrate,*" he argued in *Appello Caesarem*.¹¹⁸ It is "*by this Sacrament*", he stated in *A New Gagg for an Old Goose*, that "Christ giveth us his very body and blood, and really and truely performs *in us* his promise, in feeding our souls unto eternall life."¹¹⁹ He would have nothing to do with "consubstantiation".¹²⁰ In his refusal to place the presence of Christ anywhere but in the believing communicant, he was continuing the sixteenth-century English tradition as it had found expression in Richard Hooker, whose eucharistic doctrine, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 97), Montague knew and utilized.¹²¹

As we have found evidence of a connection between eucharistic doctrine and the altar in Andrewes' and Cosin's thinking and practice, so we find a similar association in Montague's - but in the opposite direction. While defending the use of the term "altar" against

Puritan attacks,¹²² he made no issue about the altar's position in parish churches in his 1628, 1631 or 1637 Visitation Articles, merely asking whether there was a "decent Communion Table placed conveniently as it ought [to be] ...".¹²³ Despite the altar controversy, which was stirred up in the 1630s by Laud and others, Montague did not insist upon the railed-in placement of the table at the east end of the chancel until Laud's representative, Dr. Brent, visited Sussex in 1635.¹²⁴ Macauley, in her doctoral dissertation, has raised the unanswered question of why Montague was so unconcerned about this phase of the "Laudian programme".¹²⁵ A possible answer to this is that, unlike other "Laudians", Montague did not believe in a presence of Christ's body and blood *on the altar*, and consequently placed less importance on its uniqueness and sacredness.

When we look at Forbes' Considerationes, we do not find an attitude toward a eucharistic presence which would unite the body of Christ to the bread in terms of space. Despite his acquittal of Luther as having been a heretic, Forbes rejected the teaching that Christ's body is present along with or in the bread, like fire in a mass of iron - the medieval theory of "consubstantiation", which he identified as Luther's.¹²⁶ The eucharistic bread is neither substantially the body itself, nor does it corporeally contain the body itself: ...*licet panis mysticus nec substantialiter sit ipsummet Christi corpus, neque etiam corporaliter idem in se, &c. contineat*.¹²⁷ Moreover, Forbes rejected the Roman definition of a spiritual presence as meaning that Christ is not carnally or corporeally present in a manner by which bodies exist according to their natural state, but is present according to the manner by which spirits exist, i.e., Christ is wholly present in each part of

the bread (*totus in qualibet*) and moved about by means of the accidents.¹²⁸

Yet, according to Forbes, the eucharist "exhibits" the reality itself (*sed re ipsa etiam exhibet*).¹²⁹ Here he utilized the language of Archbishop Marcantonio de Dominis of Spalatro¹³⁰ (the temporary convert from Roman Catholicism to Anglicanism) to illustrate his teaching: the bread exhibits the very body of Christ in reality and not only in hope (*At vero panis noster exhibet ipsum Christi corpus reale in re ipsa, et non in spe tantum.*),¹³¹ and the true body itself is exhibited to communicants (*corpus ipsum verum nobis exhibetur*).¹³²

The key for understanding what this "exhibition" meant for Forbes is his teaching of a sacramental conjunction in which the preposition *cum* was all-important. When the sacred bread is distributed, he argued, along with it (*simul cum pane*) the true and real flesh of Christ is given in a way known to God alone (*alia soli Deo nota*).¹³³ This same theme emerged in his discussion of adoration in the sacrament. The body of Christ, which is to be adored, is not corporeally in or under the visible signs, but is received *with* (*cum*) the bread ... *non quod lateat corporaliter in pane, aut sub pane, aut sub speciebus et accidentibus panis; sed quod quando digne sumitur panis sacramentalis, tunc sumitur cum pane Christi corpus reale...*¹³⁴

There is no question about the immediate source of these ideas - the above passages are taken nearly verbatim from Archbishop Dominis' De Republica Ecclesiastica. This teaching, moreover, was in continuity with the thinking of Bucer, Calvin and Hooker, with whose ideas Forbes was familiar.¹³⁵ Moreover, he expressed his approval of the sixteenth-century Melancthonian Lutherans, whom he put in the category of Protestants whose opinion was "most safe and most right" (*Tutissima*

et rectissima).¹³⁶ Melancthon, Forbes argued, after having become dissatisfied with Luther's opinion, explained the presence of Christ's body as being in the use, or reception, of the sacrament. He denied that the body is affixed to, soldered to, or mingled with the bread, affirming, rather, that when the bread is given, the body of Christ is exhibited to the communicant.¹³⁷ Forbes obviously felt very much at home with the ideas of those theologians who distinguished between a presence in the use of the sacrament, in the sacramental action, and a presence in the elements themselves.

Yet, when he came to the question of the sacrament's duration in time, Forbes dealt with it in a somewhat surprising way. He stated as a principle that the true and legitimate use of the sacrament consists in the eating and drinking.¹³⁸ Even among the schoolmen, Gabriel Biel recognized this in part, he argued.¹³⁹ The eucharist is consecrated in order to be consumed. Forbes admitted that in the early Church the sacrament was reserved, first in homes and then in churches. Later, the remains of the sacrament were either burned or consumed by children.¹⁴⁰ The public reservation of the elements was an optional practice and was not considered a matter of necessity, such as the Council of Trent declared it to be.¹⁴¹ The custom of reserving the eucharist for the sick and the absent should not be condemned, Forbes maintained (*atque hic pius mos neutiquam damnari debet*).¹⁴²

Forbes utilized in his argument a passage from the Reformed theologian Conrad Vortius in which he dealt with the meaning of the axiom, *Nihil habere rationem sacramenti extra legitimum usum*. Vortius claimed that while the sacred symbols are to be accounted the sacraments of the body and blood only in the use of communion (*in usu communionis*), and that there is no sacrament apart from this use, yet the *usus* is not

to be limited to the act of eating and drinking, or to any definite moment in time. Rather, it refers to the whole eucharistic celebration, the whole act (*totam Eucharistiae actionem*).¹⁴³

Forbes rejected what he regarded as abuses in the current practice of reservation of the sacrament in the Roman Church.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, he rejected the belief that one should treat the consecrated host as if it were the true and substantial body of Christ, no less apart from communion as in communion itself, or in relation to it (*non minus extra communionem, quam in ipsa communione, vel relatione ad eandem*), a presence which continues as long as the species of bread and wine last. Nonetheless, he conceded that if this abuse were removed, the controversy could be settled without condemning the ancient practice of reserving the sacrament for communion.¹⁴⁵ The position was similar to ideas which Andrewes had expressed in his 1610 *Responsio* and 1629 *Stricturae*.

Forbes, then, was willing to extend the *usus* of the eucharist in such a way that, in principle, reservation was not excluded. (One must keep in mind that he understood the *usus* as the entire celebration, and not just the eating and drinking.¹⁴⁶) Whether or not this was consistent with his assertion that there is no presence in or under the elements,¹⁴⁷ but only *with* the elements (a temporal, but no spatial relationship) is a legitimate question. Nonetheless, both claims stand side by side in his teaching, and one should not try to harmonize what Forbes himself did not.

Without suggesting any dependence by Forbes upon Johann Gerhard, it is worthy of note that one finds this same unresolved tension in Gerhard's *Loci*, written between 1610 and 1622. On the one hand, he was loathe to admit any presence *in* the elements, emphasizing that Christ's body and blood are given *with* the eucharistic bread and wine:

*Monemus autem denuo propter calumnias adversae partis, nos impanationem nos consubstantiationem, nec ullam aliam Physicam, vel localem praesentiam statuere, sed credimus, docemus ac confitemur, juxta ipsius Christi institutionem modo soli Deo cognito, nobis vero incomprehensibili, pani Eucharistico tanquam medio divinitus ordinato corpus Christi vere, realiter & substantialiter praesens: vino Eucharistico sanguinem Christi itidem vere, realiter ac substantialiter praesentem uniri, ut cum illo pane verum Christi corpus, cum illo vino, verum Christi sanguinem in sublimi mysterio sumamus, manducemus & bibamus.*¹⁴⁸

On the other hand, he refused to condemn the early church in which reservation was practised for the purpose of communion.¹⁴⁹ Gerhard represents the seventeenth-century Lutheran synthesis of the sixteenth-century Melancthonian and Gnesio-lutheran strands.¹⁵⁰ Like the latter, his thinking could accept, in principle if not in practice, the sacrament's duration in time, but like the former he refused to identify *the elements themselves* as Christ's body and blood.¹⁵¹ The thinking of Forbes had a great deal in common with this contemporary kind of Lutheranism, far more than with either Lutheran party of the previous century.

When we come to Laud's thinking during the 1630s and 40s, we have a certain difficulty in determining just how he understood the relationship of eucharistic presence to the elements. Let us preface this discussion, however, by stating that, despite what may seem to be inconsistencies or ambiguities in his theological thinking at times, Laud was very consistent in his concern that the altar should be placed at the east end of the chancel and protected from profanation. From his early days as dean of Gloucester, when he persuaded the chapter in 1616-17 to carry out the necessary reforms, to his years as Archbishop during the 1630s and 40s, he was the avowed champion of the "altar-party" and opponent of the Puritan "table-party".¹⁵² As we shall see, Laud

explicitly made a connection at one stage in his career between reverence due to the altar and the eucharistic presence.

In his notations on Bellarmine's 1596 Disputations, made some time between 1608 and 1621, Laud made a comment which suggests that he understood Christ's body to be present on earth and not only in heaven - and this in defence of Calvin! Opposing Bellarmine's claim that the Council of Trent had added "*substantialiter*" in order to oppose the Calvinist teaching that the body of Christ, with respect to its substance, is only in heaven, he commented, *Immo fatetur Calvinus*, and referred to the Institution, 4: 17: 19.¹⁵³ A number of years later, in his 1639 Conference with Fisher, he again defended Calvin against Bellarmine's claim that Protestants granted a real presence of the body in the eucharist, but referred this only to the Supper celebrated in heaven.¹⁵⁴ Against this, Laud argued that Calvin taught not only a *reception* of the body, but its real presence *in and at* the sacrament:

For the Calvinists, at least they which follow Calvin himself, do not only believe that the true and real Body of Christ is received in the Eucharist, BUT THAT IT IS THERE, and that we partake of it *vere et realiter*, which are Calvin's own words; and yet Bellarmine boldly affirms that, to his reading, 'no Protestant did ever affirm it'. And I, for my part, cannot believe but Bellarmine had read Calvin, and very carefully, he doth so frequently and so mainly oppose him. Nor can that place by any art be shifted, or by any violence wrested from Calvin's true meaning of the 'Presence of Christ in and at the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist', to any 'supper in heaven'.¹⁵⁵

Here, it seems, Laud was performing a "high-church" reconstruction of Calvin's teaching in order to make him affirm that the body of Christ is present "in and at" the eucharist, prior to and independent from the *reception* of holy communion! The foundation of this argument is that there is a distinction (which Calvin certainly never ^{/had} accepted) between the *presence* of Christ's body and its *communication*. There can be

little doubt that Laud understood very well the implication of this distinction - i.e., a presence of Christ on the altar¹⁵⁶ - since three years before the publication of his Conference with Fisher, he had argued in his Speech Delivered in the Starr-Chamber at the Censure of John Bastwick, Henry Burton & William Prinn, Concerning Pretended Innovations in the Church (1636), for reverence toward the altar because of the eucharistic presence on it:

And you, my honourable Lords of the Garter, in your great solemnities, you do your reverence, and to Almighty God, I doubt not; but yet it is *versus altare*, 'towards His altar', as the greatest place of God's residence upon earth. (I say the greatest, yea, greater than the pulpit; for there 'tis *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'This is My body'; but in the pulpit 'tis at most but *Hoc est verbum meum*, 'This is My word'. And a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the body than to the word of the Lord. And so, in relation, answerably TO THE THRONE WHERE HIS BODY IS PRESENT, than to the seat whence His word useth to the proclaimed.¹⁵⁷

Like Andrewes and Cosin before him, Laud's affirmation of an objective presence on the altar had more in common with the sixteenth-century Gnesio-lutheran tradition than it did with the English Reformed 'true' presence tradition. It is quite possible that Laud learned this doctrine from Andrewes, whom, as we have seen, he knew quite well (supra, p. 103). Moreover, in 1629 Laud and John Buckeridge had edited and published the sermons of Andrewes which, as has been pointed out (supra, pp. 190-91), taught a presence of Christ in the church building and on the altar.¹⁵⁸

Laud's enemies, if no one else at the time, were aware of how far from the Reformed heritage this understanding of Christ's presence was.¹⁵⁹ In 1640, for example, the Scottish Calvinist, Robert Baillie, wrote of the "Canterburian party", among whom he included Laud and Cosin:

The elements of the Lords Supper began by them to be magnified, above the common phrase of Protestant Divines, a corporall presence of Christ's humanitie in and about the elements to be glanced at, a kinde of omnipresence of Christ's flesh to bee preached, a number of adorations before those elements, and all that was neer them, both the altar, basin, challice, and chancell to be urged, many new ceremonies, which for many years had been out of use, to bee taken in a great bitternesse of spirit against all who ran not after these new guysses to appeare. This made us think they intended to steppe over from *Arminius* to *Luther*.¹⁶⁰

The 1640 canons of the Church of England, which Laud championed,¹⁶¹ while directing that the communion table was to be put "sideway under the east window of every chancel or chapel", explained that reverences and obeisances performed during the celebration of the eucharist did not imply "any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements".¹⁶² Had Laud altered his opinion? Possibly. More probably, however, this canon was carefully worded in order to eliminate only a *corporal* presence in or under the elements. To support this latter option, one can cite the 1639 Conference with Fisher, in which, as we have seen, Laud argued for a presence "in and at" the eucharist independent of reception. Nevertheless, he also denied that a "*bodily* substance under accidents, is, or can be, anywhere and not *ut in loco*, 'as in some place'"¹⁶³ - the Roman way of affirming both a substantial and a *non-local* presence. If there was a *bodily* presence of Christ's substance, it would have to be local, according to Laud - a position which he repudiated. The key, then, both in Laud's treatise and in the canons of the following year, is the word "bodily" or "corporal". By rejecting its appropriateness, he could attack Bellarmine, accept the canons, and still maintain a presence on the altar.

During his imprisonment, faced with charges (among others) of "Romanizing", Laud again employed the crucial word "corporal" in his own

defence. In the History of the Troubles and Tryal, he argued that the words found in the Roman mass, the service of Edward VI and the Scottish Liturgy, "that they may be unto us the Body of Blood of Christ" (*ut fiant nobis*),¹⁶⁴ were not to be interpreted as implying transubstantiation or any "corporal presence, in, or under the elements".¹⁶⁵ One may be tempted to harmonize this with his earlier writings and suggest that nothing had really changed in terms of a presence on the altar - only a *corporal* presence was being denied. This, however, would not be accurate. As we saw in chapter three (supra, p. 150), in this late work, Laud emphasized a conversion in terms of the *use* of the elements. The consecration does not mean that there is any "addition" to the elements, but rather, they "become the Body and Blood of Christ, *nobis*, to us that communicate as we ought"! In his final days, then, Laud, under considerable pressure to defend his own orthodoxy, was forced to retreat to the safety of Reformed "true" presence teaching on this point. His earlier emphasis on an objective presence in the elements was replaced by a teaching of a presence in the use. Consciously or unconsciously made, this shift witnesses to the "unorthodox" direction in which Laud's earlier thought *had* been moving.

Turning to Jeremy Taylor, the protégé of Laud during his earlier years, one finds what must surely reflect his association with Laud. In his On the Reverence Due to the Altar, probably written some time between 1637 and 1640, but not published until the nineteenth century,¹⁶⁶ Taylor, in a manner similar to Laud's 1636 "Starr-Chamber Speech", connected reverence toward the altar with the eucharistic presence. God, he claimed, is present in a special way in "Holy places", such as temples, churches, altars.¹⁶⁷ Although he is "present in all places

alike in respect of his essence, yet hee exhibits the issues and effect of his presence more in some than in others".¹⁶⁸ Then Taylor drew the implication of what this meant specifically in terms of the altar:

And lastly, (which containes the reason of the former, and of its holinesse) the Altar or Holy Table is *sedes Corporis et Sanguinis Christi*. S. Chrysost: *hom. 21 in 2 Cor: et alibi*. And if the Altars, and the Arke and the Temple in the Law of Nature and Moses were Holy, because they were God's Memorialls, as I shewed above, then the same reason shall the Altar be ὑπεράγιον highly Holy, because it is Christ's Memoriall, there we commemorate his Death, and passion in the dreadfull, and mysterious way that himselfe with greatest mysteriousness appointed. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, doe this for my memoriall. Here are all the Christian Sacrifices presented. *Panem accepit, et calicem similiter et suum Sanguinem confessus est et novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in Universo mundo offert Deo*, saith that Apostolicall man S. Irenaeus. Wee doe believe that Christ is there really present in the Sacrament, there is the body and bloud of Christ which are *verely, and indeed* taken and received by the faithfull, saidth our Church in her Catechisme. Now if places become holy at the presence of an Angell, as it did in Josuahs case to whom the captaine of the Lord's Host appeared, and in Jacob's case at Bethel, and in all the old Law, for God alwayes appeared by Angells, shall not the Christian Altar be most holy where is present the blessed Body and Bloud of the Sonne of God?¹⁶⁹

Quoting a text from St. John Chrysostom, Taylor wrote, "Thou doest reverence or honour the Altar, because it is the seat of the body of Christ".¹⁷⁰ Taylor was explicit that no adoration "relatively or transitively" was to be given to the altar; rather, when teaching a reverence to the altar, one is using a "Metonymicall expression of the subject for the adjunct", he asserted. It is Christ present on the altar who is adored (*adorato Christo praesente in altaribus*). To incline one's head to the altar is to incline one's head to God who is there and who is residing in the sacred things (*inclinato capite ad altare, that is, inclinato capite ad Deum ibidem, atque in sacris residentum: ...*).¹⁷¹

One honours the altar, not for any "innate excellency in it selfe", but "for its relation to the body of Christ for which it is appointed as an Arke or Tabernacle".¹⁷² Taylor's ideas about the sanctity of the altar became immediately evident when he was made rector of Uppingham in 1638. He at once saw to it that new communion-ware and rich altar cloths were obtained for the church.¹⁷³

Several years later when in 1649 he wrote The Great Exemplar, Taylor referred to an intimate relationship between the eucharistic bread and Christ's body:

In the sacrament, that body which is reigning in heaven is exposed upon the table of blessing; and His body which was broken for us, is now broken again, and yet remains impassible. Every consecrated portion of bread and wine does exhibit Christ entirely to the faithful receiver; and yet Christ remains one, while¹⁷⁴ He is wholly ministered in ten thousand portions.

This language is very much like that of the rubric in the 1549 Prayer Book, which stated that "man must not think less to be received in part [of the bread], than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ". It is also much like the *idea* expressed in the Eastern Orthodox Divine Liturgy (which Taylor knew¹⁷⁵), that the Lamb of God is broken and distributed, yet is not broken or severed (this prayer is said after the priest breaks the consecrated bread):

μελίζεται, καὶ διαμερίζεται ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ... ὁ μελιζόμενος, καὶ μὴ διαιρούμενος, ὁ πάντοτε ἐσθιόμενος, καὶ μηδέποτε
Aquinas had expressed a similar idea when he wrote, *Et ideo manifestum est quod Christus totus est sub qualibet parte specierum panis....*¹⁷⁷

In the third part of The Great Exemplar, Taylor urged that "so long as the consecrated symbols remain within us, according to common estimate", the communicant "should keep the flame bright, and the perfume of an actual devotion" through prayer and thanksgiving.¹⁷⁸ In his 1650

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living, he wrote that the sacrifice of the cross is "exhibited *on the table* sacramentally".¹⁷⁹

In all of the above passages, there is undoubtedly the tendency to locate the presence of Christ on the altar and in the elements, but, like Cosin and Laud, Taylor's thinking underwent a change. By the time he wrote his 1654 The Real Presence, he had begun to emphasize the presence in the *use* or *action* of the sacrament, interpreting the *TOÛTO* of the *verba* as referring to "the whole action about the bread". The bread by itself is neither the natural body of Christ, nor is it a sufficient symbol of it; rather, the bread "broken, blessed, given, distributed, taken, eaten" is Christ's body.¹⁸⁰ Taylor explicitly rejected "consubstantiation", which he identified with certain medieval schoolmen, Luther and the Greek Orthodox,¹⁸¹ and which he understood as teaching that "Christ's natural body was together with the natural bread". Of this opinion, he said, "I do not approve".¹⁸² He dismissed Aquinas' teaching that the body of Christ is in the sacramental species according to the manner of substance, and "so is whole in the whole".¹⁸³ To be in a place after the manner of substance is "not to be in a place at all", Taylor argued, since substance "hath in it no relation to a place, till it be specificated to a body or a spirit".¹⁸⁴ For Christ to be present "spiritually" "after the manner of spirits" or "after that manner of being as an angel is in a place" was nonsensical for Taylor.¹⁸⁵ A sacramental presence, Taylor argued, is not a "natural real being in a place, but a relation to a person".¹⁸⁶ The body of Christ is neither on the altar, nor in the elements:

And, therefore, to make the body of Christ to be in a thousand places at once, and yet to be but one body, - to be in heaven, and be upon so many altars, - to be on the altar in so many round wafers, - is to make a body to be a spirit, and to make a finite to be infinite; for nothing can be so but an infinite Spirit.¹⁸⁷

This change in Taylor's thinking may well have been related to his association with Nicholson, who, as has been pointed out (supra, p. 154), also emphasized a presence in the use of the sacrament.

Six years later in The Worthy Communicant, Taylor argued that the sacrament and the grace of the sacrament are joined in the "lawful and holy use of them" by a kind of "sacramental union" or a "confederation of the parts of the holy covenant".¹⁸⁸ In the use of the sacramental bread and wine, he argued, one should pay more attention to what they signify than to that of which they are composed, to their "holy employment" than to their natural use, to what they are by grace than to what they are by nature, to how they nourish the soul than to how they nourish the body, to how "they are made holy to purposes of religion" and what they are to the spirit than to what they are to sense and disputation.¹⁸⁹ The sacraments, Taylor maintained, operate only by virtue of the Spirit, and the Spirit ordinarily works by the instrumentality of the sacraments. They are "instruments of grace in the hand of God, and by these his Holy Spirit changes our hearts, and translates us into a Divine nature".¹⁹⁰

In Taylor's change of emphasis¹⁹¹ to a presence in the use of the sacrament and in understanding the elements to be instruments for conveying the body and blood, rather than the *loci* of the body and blood, we again see (as with both Laud before him and Cosin after him), a return to the thinking of the sixteenth-century English and to the Calvinist perspective. It is not surprising that in his 1660 letter concerning books for a new library, he highly recommended the fifth book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity and the writings of various Reformed divines, such as Pierre du Moulin (his Defence of James I), Simon Episcopius (his Opera), and Gerhard Johann Vossius (his Thesis Theologicae et Historicae and Disputatio Theologica de Sacramentorum Vi et Efficacia), all of which

stand in the same stream of thought on this point, as did Taylor.¹⁹² Significantly, he also recommended Chemnitz' Examinis and Gerhard's Loci, which, he noted, "serve to all purposes of the whole body of Divinity, but you must pare away [their] two Lutheran spots, viz., of consubstantiation and ubiquity".¹⁹³

The changes of thinking undergone by Laud, Cosin and Taylor do not, however, imply that the 1640s and 50s signalled the end of belief in the presence of Christ in the elements. Herbert Thorndike's teaching makes such a view untenable. In his 1642 Of Religious Assemblies, he asserted that the bread and wine "exhibit" the "invisible grace which they represent" and "exhibit" the body and blood of Christ.¹⁹⁴ The meaning of this "exhibition" language, which he continued to use in the 1659 Epilogue,¹⁹⁵ is clarified in his teaching on the sacramental union. In this 1659 work, he taught that there is a "supernatural conjunction and union" between the body and blood and the eucharistic bread and wine,¹⁹⁶ and he used the examples of dove/Holy Spirit, tongues of fire/Holy Spirit, fire and whirlwind/angels, to illustrate this idea. Rejecting the Roman criticism¹⁹⁷ that the dove and tongues of fire are not called the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, while the bread is called Christ's body, Thorndike denied that his teaching was built upon the supposition that they were. Rather, he argued, whoever understands the capacity of words to serve as instruments for signifying men's minds, is able to conclude that dove and tongue "may as well be said to be the Holy Ghost, as it may be said, that the Holy Ghost came down, because the dove came down". No man of sense would identify tongues of fire as the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, literally, when they are called the Holy Spirit in order to signify His presence. Similarly, no man believes the Godhead to move

because the Spirit is said to have come down in the bodily form of a dove. It is possible, Thorndike claimed, to say, "This is that" on account of the "invisible presence of one thing in another and with another, which is visibly present", although everybody recognizes the "distance there is between their natures".¹⁹⁸

This sacramental union is similar to the hypostatical union in the person of Christ, Thorndike argued. All orthodox Christians, he insisted, acknowledge that one is able to ascribe the properties which, properly speaking, belong to either nature, to the person of Christ. The properties of the divine nature, for example, are attributed to the manhood of Christ without confounding the natures or properties. That one is able to do this indicates belief in a "supernatural conjunction and union of two Natures in one Person of our Lord". In attributing the name of body and blood to the bread and wine, one is describing a similar "supernatural conjunction and union" between the body and blood and the bread and wine. While the personal union is indissoluble and the sacramental union is only in the use of the elements, that is, "from the consecration to the receiving", the reason which made both supernatural is the same - the will of God.¹⁹⁹

These are very Lutheran-sounding ideas, and Thorndike acknowledged the similarity of his teaching with that of the Lutherans:

Therefore, I am no way singular in this sense. All they of the Confession of Augsburg do maintain it before me; and think it enough to say, that it is an unusual or extraordinary manner of speech, when one thing is said to be another of a several kind and nature, but which the unusual and extraordinary case that is signified, both expounds and justifies.²⁰⁰

It is highly likely that one of the Lutheran theologians, whose teaching Thorndike here acknowledged as having known, was Martin Chemnitz. In his Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, Chemnitz had used exactly the same argument

with regard to the sacramental union as Thorndike was to use nearly seventy years later. He had cited the examples of doves, flames and angels, among others, to demonstrate that the method of predication concerning the union, presence and exhibition of two distinct things through the uniting of the subject and the predicate by the copulative verb was well-known in Holy Scripture.²⁰¹ To claim that bread is the body, he argued, is to imply that bread, while remaining bread, is also the body, such that the body is present, exhibited and received as the bread is present, exhibited and received.²⁰²

It can also be pointed out that the Konkordienformel (which Thorndike would have known through his knowledge of the *Liber Concordiae*²⁰³) had used much the same language, as Thorndike later used, by insisting upon a sacramental union analogous to, but not identical with, the hypostatical union:

... wie denn eben diese Gleichnis [of the personal union] viel fürnehmen alte Lehrer, Justin, Cyprianus, Augustinus, Leo, Gelasius, Chrysostomos und andere, von den Worten des Testaments Christi: 'das ist mein Leib', brauchen... wiewohl solche Vereinigung des Leibs und Bluts Christi mit Brot und Wein nicht ein persönliche Vereinigung wie beider Naturen in Christo, sunder wie sie D. Luther und die Unsern in den vielgedachten Artikeln der Vergleichung Anno 1536, etc., und sonst 'sacramentalem unionem'....²⁰⁴

In addition, the Konkordienformel had defined, as Thorndike later did, that the sacramental union lasts from consecration to reception, a presence enduring in time. The *usus* or *actio*, the confession taught, includes the entire external, visible eucharistic action from *die 'Consecration' oder Wort der Einsetzung, die Austeilung und Empfangung oder mündliche Niessung des gesegneten Brots und Weins, Leibs und Bluts Christi...*²⁰⁵

Thorndike, like Chemnitz before him,²⁰⁶ also acknowledged the sacrament's validity in the early Church's practice of reservation.

The mystical presence or sacramental change, he claimed, while understood in terms of the use of the sacrament, i.e., that it takes "effect only in order to that communion, unto which the Church designeth that which it consecrateth", nevertheless, cannot be "limited to the instant of the assembly".²⁰⁷

The eucharist is an action, but unlike baptism "which passes with the doing of it", it has two parts, i.e., the preparation and the use. Certainly, if it were prepared or consecrated for any other reason than communion, or use, this would border on "sacrilege in the abuse of the sacrament".²⁰⁸

Yet, it is possible for the two parts to be separated at times. The early Church did this, Thorndike argued, in allowing those not present at the celebration to receive the eucharist. Although he was not able to give any reason why this necessarily should have been done, "in point of charity" he acknowledged that the practice did not contravene the principle that consecration was intended for communion and "the total of both is necessarily understood by the name of the sacrament".²⁰⁹

Moreover, in the early Church reservation was for a short time, from one celebration to another; those "who carried away the Body of our Lord to eat at home, drinking the Blood at the present" could be said to have communicated under both kinds.²¹⁰ What Thorndike denied was an *absolute* change in the bread or a permanence of the presence:

Nor would it have been a custom, in some places, to burn the remains of the sacrament (as Hesychius, In Levit. viii., witnesseth); or at Constantinople to give them to schoolboys: had they not conceived the change of the elements to be in order to the use of them, and that this use, and that which is done in order thereunto, expireth, when the occasion of giving them to those for whom the Church intendeth them ceaseth.²¹¹

(Similarly, the Konkordienformel had also denied a permanent presence in the elements when it stated that bread is not to be deemed a sacrament when it is not distributed, but is offered up, locked up, carried about

or exposed for adoration: *...ausser welchen Gebrauch, wenn das Brot in der papistischen Mess nicht ausgeteilet, sondern aufgeopfert oder eingeschossen, umbgetragen und anzubeten flürgestellet, ist es für kein Sakrament zu halten...*²¹² Finally, in his Reformation of the Church of England, Thorndike affirmed that the spirit is united with the bread, "so long and to such purposes, as the Church intends by consecrating".²¹³

Thorndike used language in the Epilogue which describes a presence of the body and blood "in, with or under" the elements, qualifying this as a mystical, spiritual or sacramental presence. He stated, for example, that it is the visible profession of the Church which makes effectual the body and blood "sacramentally present in the elements of it".²¹⁴

When the eucharist is celebrated in the unity of the Church, the communicant has "a legal presumption, even towards God" to receive the body and blood "in and with the elements of bread and wine".²¹⁵

And again, he asserted that the body and blood of Christ crucified are caused to be "mystically present in the elements" of the eucharist.²¹⁶

They "are contained in them, not as in a bare sign, which a man may take up at his pleasure, but as in the means by which God hath promised His Spirit".²¹⁷

The Fathers, he argued, called the eucharistic gifts "figures, symbols, images, similitudes, representations, patterns, pledges, riddles", not as if "they contained not the thing signified", but because the earthly nature is not destroyed.²¹⁸

The flesh of Christ "sacramentally present in the element consecrate into it" must be distinguished from the "Flesh of Christ naturally in the Body of Christ upon the cross" which was of necessity accompanied with the blood of Christ. In the sacrament, however, the Church is commanded both to consecrate and to receive the body and blood separately, so that "under the one element" the body is received and "under another" the blood is

received.²¹⁹ When feeling pressed (as we saw in the second chapter) to explicate further how he understood the in, with and under language, Thorndike responded:

... when I say, they [the body and blood] are 'in', 'with', and 'under', them [the elements], as 'in', and 'with', and 'under', a sacrament mystically; I conceive I am excused of any further answer, and am not obliged to declare the manner of that which must be mystical, when I have said what I can say to declare it. Only I will take leave to tell him, that he will remain nevertheless obliged to believe the truth both of the sign and of the thing signified though I answer not all that he demands, upon the question, what the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in, or with, or under the elements of the eucharist signifies.²²⁰

This utilization of in, with, and under language by Thorndike to describe the relationship between the eucharistic bread and Christ's body is further evidence that at least this part of his sacramental teaching had roots in the Lutheran theological tradition,²²¹ rather than in sixteenth-century English or Reformed theology. He provided, moreover, the most thorough Caroline exposition and defence of a spatial connection between the eucharistic presence and the elements, an idea which had already been posited in the seventeenth-century Anglican theological tradition by earlier Caroline divines.

If, in our discussion of sacramental change, we concluded that there was an edging away from the Anglican thinking of the previous century, with regard to the relationship between the earthly elements and Christ's body and blood, we notice an even greater shift. All of the Caroline divines under consideration, except Montague and Forbes, at some time in their careers, affirmed a spatial connection between the eucharistic presence and the earthly signs. They wrote or spoke about a presence on the altar, in the vessels, or in, with and under the

elements. We noted the association in the thinking and practice of some of the divines, between an elaboration of, and reverence toward, the altar and belief in a presence on it.²²² Practice and belief may well have given impetus and support to each other in the tendency to an acceptance of a presence of Christ *on earth* in the sacrament. In several cases, we pointed to similarities with Lutheran teaching and possible Lutheran influence on this Caroline understanding of the presence of Christ in the eucharist. This tendency to locate the eucharistic presence in the elements may be harking back to the 1549 Prayer Book, which, as we saw in the first chapter, taught that the whole body of Christ is present in each part of the bread (supra, p. 34). The seventeenth century witnessed what Cuming has described as a "back to 1549" liturgical movement, championed in the early years by Andrewes and John Overall.²²³ The preference for altars at the east end of the chancel rather than free-standing tables was part of this movement. In the eucharistic theology of the Caroline divines, then, we may find a reflection of this desire to return to the 1549 rite,²²⁴ which, as we pointed out earlier (supra, p. 35), contained a doctrine of eucharistic presence similar to that of some sixteenth-century Lutherans.

By no means was this the only understanding. As we saw, Montague and Forbes taught a presence in use, a conjunction between the bread and body in time, rather than in space. Laud in his last days accepted this position, and Cosin's and Taylor's thinking, after earlier flirtations with the more spatially orientated approach, came to rest here as well. This latter perspective was a continuation of the sixteenth-century English heritage and was in tune with Calvinist theology, sixteenth-century Melancthonian thinking and, to a certain extent, seventeenth-century Lutheran thought.

It is the former tendency which locates the presence of Christ in places, which undoubtedly was the cause of the popularity of the Caroline divines among the nineteenth-century Tractarians. And indeed in this respect, the seventeenth century *did* move away from the Reformed dominated sacramental thinking of sixteenth-century Anglicanism, and one can understand the Anglo-Catholic appeals to this "second and better Reformation". This, however, is not the end of the story, for, as we shall see, this seventeenth-century movement was not without its ambiguities, nor without its own roots in the earlier tradition.

FOOTNOTES

¹De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 84.

²Ibid., p. 174. For the early sixteenth-century usage of "exhibition" language, supra, pp. 59-60. Its usage was continued by both Reformed and Lutheran theologians. See, e.g., Calvin's Dilucida Explicatio (1561), CR, 37: 470, and the Latin edition of the Konkordien-formel in Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 983. Chemnitz' one work was entitled, Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, de vera et substantiali praesentia, exhibitione, et sumptione corporis, & sanguinis Domini in coena.

³By the beginning of the seventeenth century, "consubstantiation" was consistently identified as the Lutheran teaching by English theologians. Whether or not they had very clear ideas of *either* the medieval consubstantiation theory *or* Lutheran sacramental doctrine is debatable. Nonetheless, it had become part of the standard, accepted procedure when writing about the eucharist to reject "consubstantiation" along with transubstantiation. For references in De Sacra Eucharistia, see pp. 26, 82, 84, 174.

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 20; PG, 7: 1,028-29.

⁸PL, 187: 1754 in Gratian's Decreti Pars Tertia. De Consec. Dist.
II.

⁹De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 24.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 56.

¹¹*Sacramentum enim sumentibus propter unionem Sacramentalem, panis Caro est, vinum Sanguis. Ibid., p. 62.*

¹²*Ibid., p. 74. See also, the Wittenberg Concord, to which Saravia appealed (see p. 307), which stated, ... tamen fatentur et sentiunt Sacramentali unione Panem esse Corpus Christi; hoc est, sentiunt et credunt, porrecto Pane, simul Praesens esse, et Vere porrigi, Corpus Christi. Ibid., p. 122. For another reading of this text, see, CR, 3: 75: ... hoc est, sentiunt porrecto pane simul adesse et vere exhiberi corpus Christi.*

¹³*Quando panis frangitur, quae pars est tantum altera Sacramenti, indefinite Sacramentum frangi dicitur proinde et Pars, Quae minime frangitur; quoniam fractio in illa sui parte fit quae frangi potest; atque ita Ille frangitur, Qui tamen manet integer, manducatur et dentibus teritur Qui non consumitur. De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 66.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.* For the text from this first recantation of Berengarius, see p. 290, ft.nt. 2. Saravia's attitude toward the recantation contrasts with those of both Luther and Calvin. Luther, in his 1528 *Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis*, approved of the recantation because it affirmed that whoever held, ate and crushed the bread, also held, ate and crushed the body, although not in a visible or physical way. WA, 26: 442-43. Hence, Luther saw the recantation as asserting something more than a linguistic relationship between bread and body. Calvin, on the other hand, saw the recantation as evidence of superstition and error, in that it affixed Christ to the bread locally. *Institution*, 4: 17: 12. Both understood the recantation as saying the bread *and* body are handled, eaten and crushed, but differed in their evaluations of the teaching.

¹⁶*De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 108.*

¹⁷*Ibid., p. 150.*

¹⁸*Ibid., p. 22.*

¹⁹*Ibid., p. 182.*

²⁰*Ibid., p. 36.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid., pp. 36, 38.*

²⁴*Ibid.* Saravia referred to the two sermons of Augustine on Psalm 33 which said: *Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum, ait: Hoc est corpus meum (Matth. xxvi, 26). Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis. And Quia cum commendaret ipsum corpus suum et sanguinem suum, accepit in manus suas quod norunt fideles; et ipse se portabat quodam modo, cum diceret: Hoc est corpus meum (Matth. xxvi, 26). PL, 36/37: 306, 308 (In Psalmum XXXIII Enarratio, hom. 1 & 2).*

²⁵De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 38.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 26, 28.

²⁷*Mysteria divina non sunt physicis rationibus examinanda; excedunt enim humani ingenii captum.* Ibid., p. 28.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹*Sed controversia non tam est de potentia Dei quam de voluntate. Quidquid enim Deus vult, id etiam posse dubium non est; sed non vult quidquid potest.* Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 28, 30.

³¹Ibid., pp. 30, 32.

³²Ibid., p. 32.

³³*Ut autem cibus et potus realiter alant, realiter dari et accipi necesse est; dari vero et accipi ad realiter alendum et potandum quod non adest praesens non potest. Sed praesentia hujus cibi potusque realis non negatur ab iis qui recte sapiunt, quaecunque tandem illa sit. De praesentiae modo sola videtur esse controversia.* Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 38.

³⁵Ibid.; see also, 47/48: 642 (De Sacerdotio, 3).

³⁶Ibid., p. 36.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 198, 200.

³⁸Ibid., p. 122. He explicitly assented to the 1536 Wittenberg Concord, which had declared itself against both a permanent union and a "local" presence. See, CR, 3: 75.

³⁹See also, Calvin, Institution, 4: 17: 16, where he argued that it was proper to teach that, when the eucharistic bread is presented, there is an exhibition of the body of Christ, because the truth is inseparable from the sign, and the Petit Traicté, where he asserted that while the two parts of the sacrament (the bread and the body) can be distinguished, they cannot be separated. CR, 33: 439.

⁴⁰Supra, pp. 21 and 50.

⁴¹*Und solchen leib und blut des sons Gottes Jhesu Christi nicht allein die heiligen und wirdigen, sondern auch die sunder und unwirigen warhafftig handeln und empfahren leiblich (wie wol unsichtbarlich) mit henden, munde, Kelch, Patenen, Corporal und was sie dazu gebrauchen, wenn mans inn der Messe gibt und nimpt.* WA, 38: 265 (Ein Brief D. Martin Luthers von seinem Buch der Winkelmesse, 1534); Peters, The Origin and Meaning, p. 126.

⁴²In De Sacra Eucharistia, Saravia specifically expressed his desire not to contradict either the Augustana or the 1536 Wittenberg.

Concord (p. 16). In his last Will and testament of 3 January 1613, he expressed his acceptance of both the Thirty-Nine Articles and the 1530 Augustana: Symbolum quod dicitur Apostolorum similiter et Nycenum aliorumque trium generalium Conciliorum cum illo quod est Athanasii, recipio et amplector: ut pote quae ex verbo Dei sint deducta. Quibus adiungo Anglicanae ecclesiae confessionem cum illa quam Augustae Germaniae principes Caesari Carolo quinto anno Domini 1530 obtulerunt. See, Nijenhuis, Adrianus Saravia, p. 368.

⁴³Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 64.

⁴⁴Fundamenta, p. 59; The Lord's Supper, p. 157.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Fundamenta, p. 11; The Lord's Supper, p. 37.

⁴⁷It spoke of *die zwei Wesen, das natürliche Brot und der wahre natürliche Leib Christi ... auf Erden zusammen gegenwärtig sein ...* Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 983.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 1,006-1,007.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 1,001. The *extra usum* with which Saravia was concerned, was the reservation of the eucharistic bread in monstrances and processions with the sacrament. This was how the Wittenberg Concord understood *extra usum*, and it was to this agreement that Saravia appealed in his De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 122. Both the confessional Lutherans in the Konkordienformel and Saravia understood *usus* as referring to the eucharistic action, and did not limit it to the eating and drinking.

⁵⁰Saravia's understanding contrasts sharply with that of Calvin, whose antipathy towards any notion of a presence in, with or under the elements was clear. See Institution, 4: 17: 13, 16, 25; CR, 34: 130 (Catechismus); 37: 475-76, 479, 501 (Dilucida Explicatio). Nijenhuis has argued that "it is difficult to point to many Lutheran influences" in Saravia's eucharistic doctrine (Adrianus Saravia, pp. 199-200). Given the passages which have been pointed out above, this interpretation does not seem to deal adequately with all the teaching of Saravia. More points of contact with Lutheranism will be seen throughout the progression of this dissertation.

⁵¹The Belgic Confession stressed the other strand in Saravia's teaching, the *temporal* association between the reception of the bread and wine and the communication of Christ's body and blood. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions, p. 215; Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, pp. 518-23.

⁵²It is not surprising that the Tractarian theologian, G. A. Denison, translated Saravia's treatise in the nineteenth century as evidence of "the precise teaching which is now charged against him [Denison], as false doctrine". (De Sacra Eucharistia, p. iii.) The eucharistic doctrine of Denison explicitly contained the proposition that "the Body and Blood of Christ are *Really Present in the Consecrated Bread and Wine*, after a manner not material, or, as it is said, 'corporal', but immaterial and spiritual". G. A. Denison, The Real Presence. Three Sermons, 3rd. ed., (London: Joseph Masters, 1855), p. 10. (Sermon 1) [emphasis is mine].

⁵³Works, 3: 60 (Easter sermon, 1622); see also his 1617 Easter sermon. Ibid., 2: 408.

⁵⁴Supra, p. 144.

⁵⁵Works, RACB: 265.

⁵⁶Ibid., 1: 282-83.

⁵⁷Appono et Augustinum. 'Hoc est quod dicimus, quo [lege 'hoc'] 'modis omnibus approbare contendimus, Sacrificium [scilicet] Eucharistiae, duobus confici' [lege 'duobus constare'], visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini Nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine, [sacramento et re sacramentali]; sicut Christi persona constat [et conficitur] ex Deo et homine cum ipse [Christus] verus sit Deus et verus homo'. Ibid., RACB: 266; see also, PL, 187: 1754 (Decreti Pars Tertia. De Consecr. Dist. II).

⁵⁸Works, RACB: 266. This was in response to Bellarmine's discussion of adoration in the sacrament. See, Opera, 4: 291-93 (De Sacra Eucharistia).

⁵⁹W. Goode has argued that these words of Andrewes could not mean that Christ is worshipped in or under the elements on the altar, but only that the sacrament should be received with reverence and respect, since he opposed Cardinal du Perron's teaching that 1. Christ is present in the sacrament under the species of bread and wine, and 2. that external adoration is to be given the sacrament. The Nature of Christ's Presence, 2: 821; Andrewes, Works, MW: 13-17, 34-35; Cardinal du Perron, Replique à la Response du Serenissime Roy de la Grande Bretagne, 2nd. ed. (Paris: Antoine Estienne, 1622), pp. 70-71.

⁶⁰Goode translated *Eum qui super Altare colitur* as "him who is above the altar do we worship", or "him who is worshipped above the altar". The Nature of Christ's Presence, 2: 820. These translations, however, while possible, are less preferable to the translation, "He who is worshipped on the altar", for three reasons: 1. The context of Andrewes' statement is his distinction between the visible parts of the sacrament (bread) and the invisible part (Christ, or the body of Christ). His concern was only to distinguish adoration of Christ from adoration of bread (Goode was wrong when he claimed that Bellarmine did not advocate worship of the sacramental signs. Ibid.; see Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 292). 2. Secondly, this text was used by others, such as Chemnitz, to show that the early fathers taught that Christ is to be adored not only in the action of the supper, but also on the altar (Fundamenta, p. 60; Lord's Supper, p. 160). 3. Thirdly, in the Greek text of St. Gregory's statement - τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσπίπτει μετὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμῶμενον ἀνακαλουμένην μεγάλην τῇ βοῇ (PG, 35: 809, Oratio 8: *In laudem sororis suae Gorgoniae*) - the ἐπὶ is most easily translated as "upon".

⁶¹Works, 1: 62 (Christmas sermon, 1609).

⁶²Ibid., p. 174 (Christmas sermon, 1615).

⁶³Ibid., pp. 213-14.

⁶⁴... ἡ γὰρ τράπεζα αὕτη τάζιν τῆς φάτνης πληροῦ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα κείσεται τὸ σῶμα τα δεσποτικόν, οὐχὶ ἐσπαργανωμένον, καθάπερ τότε, ἀλλὰ Πνεύματι πανταχόθεν ἀγίῳ περιστελλόμενον. PG, 48: 753.

⁶⁵Fundamenta, p. 58; The Lord's Supper, p. 155.

⁶⁶Works, 1: 248 (Christmas sermon, 1620). H. Davies has pointed to this passage as evidence of an unmistakably "high doctrine of the Sacrament since the very Body of Christ is on the altar". Worship and Theology in England, 2: 307.

⁶⁷Works, RACB: 267. In opposing reservation and extra-liturgical adoration, Andrewes showed himself to be a faithful son of the Church of England's official teaching (supra, pp.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 13-14.

⁶⁹Works, MW: 18-19 (Stricturae).

⁷⁰... qui croyoit que le corps de Christ estoit au Sacrament, mesme hors l'usage, & à ceste occasion le gardoit après la consecration pour les communions domestiques, pour le donner aux malades, pour le porter sur mer, pour l'envoyer aux provinces éloignées. Ibid., pp. 7-8. The entire eighteenth chapter of Cardinal du Perron's Replique can be found in this volume of Andrewes', pp. 7-12. See also, Cardinal du Perron, Replique à la Response, p. 71.

⁷¹For Calvin, for example, reservation was useless, and a distribution of the elements without the words of institution being heard involved abuse and defect. Institution, 4: 17: 39. The Reformed theologian, Zacharius Ursinus (1534-1583) explained the nature of the sacramental union in terms of the *promise* of Christ which binds together the bread and the body of Christ, without any presence or inclusion in the "signe as in a vessell containing it". The Summe of Christian Religion, trans. D. Henry Parry (London: James Young, 1645), p. 434. Pierre du Moulin, in proposition 50 of his Certain Analytical and Orthodoxe Propositions (pp. 30-31), spelled out in clear terms why reservation was not possible: "... in this reverence we must beware, that we come not to adoration, or reservation of the remainders of the Supper, as if there were some divinity included in it: Since that the signes, without the use of the Sacrament, are nothing but bread and wine, and that Iesus Christ hath not said, elevate, offer, adore, shut up, carrie, but take, eat, drink in remembrance of mee." William Perkins taught that, after the administration of communion is ended, the bread is again "common bread". Works, p. 711.

⁷²In two 1543 letters to Simon Wolfærinus, the Lutheran priest at Eisleben, Luther attacked his practice of mixing consecrated and unconsecrated elements, and decried him with these words: *Zuinglianum te forte vis audiri, et ego te Zwinglii insania laborare credam...* WA Br, 10: 3888. For a discussion of this passage, see Hardt, Om Altarets Sakrament, pp. 74-75, and Venerabilis et Adorabilis Eucharistia, pp. 230-31. Hardt has argued that according to Luther, within the eucharistic celebration the sacrament was to be treated as sacrament until all had received, the chalice was emptied and the bread consumed. If anything

did remain, it was to be received reverently by the celebrant or another person *as sacrament*. In Electoral Saxony, Luther's own country, wine was used for rinsing the chalice, ostensibly to remove every trace of consecrated wine. Om Altarets Sakrament, p. 75; see also, WA Br, 10: 3894.

⁷³WA TR, 5: 55 (Luther's Table Talk); see also, Peters, The Origin and Meaning, p. 187.

⁷⁴Peters, The Origin and Meaning, pp. 313-19. See also, Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith & Practice Evangelical & Catholic, trans. A. G. Herbert (London: SPCK, 1930), p. 127, where he states, "In spite of the principle *extra usum nullum sacramentum*, pains were taken in the Lutheran Church Orders to secure that all the consecrated elements should be consumed".

⁷⁵Examinis, 2: 91; Examination, 2: 303.

⁷⁶P. E. Kretzmann, Christian Art in the Place and Form of Lutheran Worship (St. Louis: C.P.H., 1921), p. 119; H. T. Lehmann, ed., Meaning and Practice of the Lord's Supper (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961), p. 98.

⁷⁷See, J. G. Davies, ed., A Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship (London: SCM, 1972), "Architectural Setting", pp. 28-29, and "Reformed Worship", p. 331; Proctor and Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 68-70; Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice, pp. 187-90; O. Chadwick, The Reformation (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), p. 4071. In England, the proper place of the table-altar was debated throughout the sixteenth century, and various injunctions were issued concerning it. In practice, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, it came to be placed permanently in the nave or at the lower end of the chancel of parish churches, generally standing table-wise rather than altar-wise due to its frequently long length. Proctor and Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 104-105; G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1948), pp. 108-109.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 138.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 117; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, pp. 127-29; Andrewes, Works, MW: xcvi-xcix. The Royal Chapel and most cathedrals retained the altar until the civil war (1642-48). Chadwick, The Reformation, p. 407; Addleshaw and Etchells, The Architectural Setting, p. 117.

⁸⁰Andrewes, Works, MW: 152-58; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, pp. 127-28.

⁸¹Andrewes, Works, MW: xcvi-xcix; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, p. 129.

⁸²Andrewes' practice probably reflected his understanding of eucharistic sacrifice as well, which, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

⁸³Works, 5: 131.

⁸⁴He cited as an example the Lutheran Confessio Doctrinae Saxonicarum Ecclesiarum, suggesting that the Lutheran meaning of *usus* was eating and drinking, rather than the whole sacramental action. See Sylloge Confessionum sub Tempus Reformandae Ecclesiae (Oxford: Clarendon, 1827), p. 282.

⁸⁵Works, 5: 131.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 132.

⁸⁷"Whereupon Cassander, Consul. Ar. 10, saith, They are mad, *qui dicunt mysticam benedictionem Sacramenti cessare, aut virtutem suam amittere, siquae reliquiae remanserint in dies futuros: non enim mutabitur SS. Corpus Christi, sed virtus benedictionis, et vivificativa gratia jugis in ipso est.*" Ibid., pp. 131-32. See also, Georgii Cassandri Belgae Theologi ... Opera Quae Reperivi Potuecunt Omnia (Paris: Abraham Pacard, 1616), pp. 938-39.

⁸⁸Ibid., 937-39. Cuming overstated the case when he claimed that Cosin "criticizes the Lutherans and Calvinists for holding that the body of Christ" is present only in the eating (The Anglicanism of John Cosin, p. 7), since Cosin criticized only *certain* Lutherans, namely, those who had abandoned the belief of Luther.

⁸⁹Works, 5: 132.

⁹⁰"And if any of the bread and wine remain, the Curate shall have it to his own use." (1604) Liturgiae Britannicae, p. 230.

⁹¹Works, 5: 130. See also, PG, 76: 1075 for St. Cyril's words; S.T., 3a.76.6 for Thomas' words; and Maldonatus, Disputationem, 1: 120, for the source used by Cosin.

⁹²Works, 5: 102.

⁹³Ibid., p. 87. For discussions of Cosin's own practices with regard to the placement of the altar at the east end and the ritual connected with it, see, John G. Hoffman, "John Cosin's Cure of Souls: Parish Priest at Brancepeth and Elwick, County Durham", Durham University Journal (December, 1978), pp. 78-79; Stanwood, A Collection of Private Devotions, pp. xvii-xix.

⁹⁴This was one reason why Stone did not accept Cosin's authorship of these notes, given his later thinking. Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 327. It can be pointed out, however, that Bishop John Overall (1560-1619), whom some think wrote these notes, taught a presence in the right use of the sacrament; *when* the bread and wine are given, the body and blood are given; see also, Overall's Praelactiones seu Disputationes in Archibald Campbell, The Doctrines of a Middle State between Death and the Resurrection (London: W. Taylor, 1721), pp. 212-13.

⁹⁵The relationship between the two hymns is discussed on p. 262.

⁹⁶P. G. Stanwood, John Cosin, A Collection of Private Devotions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 229.

⁹⁷Works, 2: 12. Dugmore was correct in seeing this as an example of Cosin's early "high-church" theology. Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 102.

⁹⁸Works, 1: 160. That other works from the same period as the first series of notes on the Prayer Book express a similar understanding of the eucharistic presence is evidence to support the contention that Cosin did indeed write the notes, although they differ significantly from his later writings.

⁹⁹Ibid., 5: 481.

¹⁰⁰Correspondence, 1: 253.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁰²Works, 4: 48.

¹⁰³Ibid. Cosin used the image of the ring, taken from St. Bernard of Clairvaux, to show that sacraments were not "absolute things" in themselves, without any relation, but were mysteries in which divine grace was given by the visible sign. The eucharistic elements were analogous, not to a ring given absolutely as a gift in and of itself, but to a ring given as a sign of something else. Works, 4: 123.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰⁵See, e.g., *Ipsa sane institutionis verba, panem esse, quicum exhibetur Corpus Domini...* Ibid., 4: 57, and ... *quando in Eucharistia nobis dantur panis et vinum, simul et eodem tempore dantur etiam Corpus et Sanguis Domini...* Ibid., p. 98. See also, p. 46.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 95-96.

¹⁰⁹We know this because Cosin referred to his 1656 Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis in this passage.

¹¹⁰Works, 5: 345.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³See, De Sacrificio Christi semel in Cruce oblato et initerabili contra Pontificios (Helmstadt: Henningus Mullerus, 1644), par. lxxxv. (This volume is present in Cosin's library in Durham.) Calixtus followed Melancthon's, rather than Luther's, lead in eucharistic doctrine, emphasizing that *when* the bread and wine are received, the body and blood of Christ are received, rather than teaching that the body and blood are

in or under the bread and wine. This is not far removed from what we labelled as "occasionalism" in our discussion of Hooker and Calvin in chapter one. For a short history of Calixtus, see, A. C. Piepkorn's article in The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, 3 vols., ed., Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), 1: 349-50. For Melancthon's teaching, see p.

¹¹⁴Works, 5: 356-57.

¹¹⁵Perkins, Works, p. 710; see also, du Moulin, A Defence of the Catholike Faith, p. 265.

¹¹⁶See, e.g., various passages in Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis. Works, 4: 50, 119. In his notations in the Durham Book (probably begun in 1660-61), he added a substitute reading for the rubric concerning the curate's use of the remaining bread and wine: "If any of the bread or wine remain unconsecrate, the Curate shall have it to his owne use: & if any remaine that was unconsecrate, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but yet Priest & such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him before ye Lord's Table, shall reverently eate and drinke the same." G. J. Cuming, ed. & intro., The Durham Book, Being the First Draft of the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661 (reprint) (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Pub., 1961), pp. 184, 186. It would seem that, in the final analysis, Cosin could not bear the liturgical implications of his own teaching, and retreated back to those of his earlier days.

¹¹⁷Cuming, The Anglicanism of John Cosin, pp. 11-12.

¹¹⁸Appello Caesarem, p. 296.

¹¹⁹A New Gagg for an Old Goose, p. 252.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹This was in accord with the teaching of Bishop Overall, which also placed the presence in the use of the sacrament (supra, p. 230, ft. nt. 94). Macauley has described Overall as the "fountainhead for Mountague's teaching". Richard Mountague, p. 39; In A New Gagg for an Old Goose, Montague referred to him as "that right reverend and learned Bishop of Norwich", "a man for admirable learning", p. 84.

¹²²Appello Caesarem, pp. 284-88, 296.

¹²³Macauley, Richard Mountague, p. 378. See also, Articles to Bee Enquired of, Throughout the Whole Diocese of Chichester (London: R. Y. for Thomas Bourne, 1631), p. A,3[v]; Articles to Be Enquired of, throughout the Whole Diocese of Chichester (London: Miles Flesher, 1637), p. A,3[r].

¹²⁴Then Brent gave instructions at Lewes that the altars were to be moved into the chancel and railed in. Not until Montague was translated to Norwich did he finally follow suit and enquire whether the table was "fixedly set" against the east wall and protected by rails. Ibid., pp. 378-79. See also, Articles of Enquiry and Direction for the Diocese of Norwich, in the First Visitation of the Reverend Father in God Richard Mountaigu (Cambridge: 1638), p. A,3[v].

- ¹²⁵ Macauley, Richard Mountague, p. 379.
- ¹²⁶ Considerationes, 2: 470, 482.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 418.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 410. See, Aquinas, SI, 3a.76.3, and Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 8 (De Sacra Eucharistia).
- ¹²⁹ Considerationes, 2: 418.
- ¹³⁰ An Italian ecclesiastic (1566-1624) who left the Roman Church, travelled to England, and was regarded as a convert to the English Church. He wrote against Rome, and his chief work, De Republica Ecclesiastica, was published in London and Frankfurt (3 vols. in total). He later decided to leave England and returned to Rome and to the Roman Church, but his earlier apostasy was never really forgotten and after his death, both his books and his body were burned. See DNB, 15: 201-203, NBG, 14: 504-5, NCE, 4: 993.
- ¹³¹ Considerationes, 2: 418. See also, Marco Antonio de Dominis, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 3 vols. (London: Ioannem Billium [vols. 1 & 2]; Francfurti: Sumptibus Viduae Jonae Rosii [vol. 3], 1617-1658), 2: 132-33.
- ¹³² Considerationes, 2: 414; De Republica, 2: 235.
- ¹³³ Considerationes, 2: 412; De Republica, 2: 230.
- ¹³⁴ Considerationes, 2: 544; De Republica, 3: 200.
- ¹³⁵ Supra, pp. 99-100. See also, Calvin, in his Institution, taught that *when* the bread is presented in the sacrament by the minister, the Holy Spirit distributes the body of Christ to the believing communicant (Institution, 4:14:17 and 4:17:16). Forbes regarded Calvin as a man with a deservedly great name among Protestants, despite his unsatisfactory attempts to please both the Lutheran and Swiss parties. Considerationes, 2: 388. For references to Hooker, ibid., pp. 404, 496, and to Bucer, ibid., pp. 390-92.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 388.
- ¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 388, 390. Among the passages from Melancthon included by Forbes is this: *Ego, ne longius recederem a veteribus, posui in usu sacramentalem praesentiam, et dixi: datis his rebus Christum vere adesse, et efficacem esse. Id profecto satis est. Nec addidi inclusionem, aut conjunctionem talem, qua affigeretur τῷ ἁγίῳ τὸ σῶμα, aut ferruminaretur aut misceretur.* CR, 3: 514. Other Melancthonian divines whom Forbes cited are Casper Cruciger and the theologians of Wittenberg at the Dresden Conference. Most of Forbes' references to the Melancthonians, as well as other authors, come from the Calvinist Rudolf Hospinian's works. Ibid., pp. 388-396. See also, Rudolphi Hospiniani Historiae Sacramentariae, Pars Posterior de Origine et Progressu Controversiae Sacramentariae (Genevae: Sumptibus Samuelis de Tournes, 1681), p. 299, and Hospinian, Concordia Discors, Hoc est, de

Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Bergensis (Genevae: Samvelis de Tournes, 1678), pp. 32-33.

¹³⁸*Verus et legitimus hujus sacramenti usus in manducatione et potu consistit.* Ibid., p. 538.

¹³⁹Ibid.; see also, Gabrielis Biel Canonis Misse Expositio, 4 vols., ed. Heiko A. Oberman & William J. Courtenay (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1963-67), 2: 45, 77, 78. Forbes was here quoting from G. H. Vossius, who wrote, *Ex parte hoc etiam vidit Gabriel Biel in Can. lect. xxxvi a.* See, Opera in Sex tomos divisa (Amstelodami: Ex typographia P. & J. Blaeu, 1701), 6: 437.

¹⁴⁰See, e.g., Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 213.

¹⁴¹Trent had declared: *Quare sancta haec synodus retinenda ommino salutarem hunc et necessarium morem statuit.* Canones et Decreta, p. 62 (Sessio. XIII, c. VI).

¹⁴²Considerationes, 2: 538, 540.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 542. See also, Conradus Vorstius, Anti-Bellarminus Contractus; Hoc est, Compendiosum Examen, Omnium Fidei Controversiarum, quod hoc tempore inter Evangelicos & Pontificios Agitantur: prout eas Rob. Bellarmine Cardinalis IV. Disputationum suarum Tomis Complexus est, 4 vols. (Hanoviae: ex officina Typographica Guilielmi Antonii, 1610), 3: 406.

¹⁴⁴Reservation of the eucharist for the purpose of *ostentatio et pompa* and to avert fires, tempests and other evils was not approved of by the Universal Church in her first and purest ages. Considerationes, 2: 540, 542; see also, Vossius, Opera, 6: 439, whom Forbes was citing.

¹⁴⁵Considerationes, 2: 542.

¹⁴⁶In addition to Vortius whom Forbes cited in this regard, the Lutheran Konkordienformel had similarly defined the *usus*. Die Bekenntnisschriften, pp. 983-84.

¹⁴⁷A possible exception to this may be one passage in his discussion of the eucharist as sacrifice. Forbes argued that the Fathers taught that the ministers of the Church plead the perpetual victim, who is seated in heaven at the Father's right hand and who in an effable manner is present on the holy table (*et in sacra mensa modo ineffabili praesentem*). Ibid., p. 578. Here Forbes seemed to have allowed for a presence on the altar, a position which he condemned in his repudiation of the Romanists' understanding of the "spiritual" presence. It is most probable, however, that this statement of a presence on the altar was not meant as a positive statement of the nature of eucharistic presence, but was an incidental element in his attempt to distinguish the eucharistic sacrifice from all the properties of a proper, literal sacrifice. Even the Calvinistic (at least in terms of eucharistic presence) bishop, Thomas Bilson, spoke of Christ being present on the table, without affirming anything similar to the Lutheran or Roman doctrine. The True Difference Between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1585), p. 779.

¹⁴⁸Loci Theologici, 5: 95.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁵⁰To see the weakening within seventeenth-century Lutheranism of the relationship between the bread and Christ's body, one only need look at nearly any compendium of that period's theology. The emphasis on the *instrumentality* of the bread, rather than on its *identity* with the body, is *very strong*! See, e.g., Heinrich Schmid, The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 3rd. ed. rev., trans. by Charles A. Hay and Henry E. Jacobs (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1961), pp. 555-64, and Joh. Guilielmi Baieri Compendium Theologiae Positivae, 3 vols., ed., C.F.G. Walther (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia Verlag, 1879), pp. 501-20.

¹⁵¹Peters, On the Origin and Meaning, p. 476. As Peters has pointed out, Melancthon did not believe that it was proper to say that the bread is Christ's true body (ibid., p. 102), and in the last years of his life, he excluded reservation as being within the *usus* of the sacrament (ibid., p. 71).

¹⁵²Addleshaw, The Architectural Setting, pp. 121-36.

¹⁵³Works, 6 (Part 2: 650). The words of Calvin referred to teach a communion with the substance of Christ, *not* that the substance of Christ is out of heaven: *Ayant osté ces deux inconveniens, ie reçoys volontiers tout ce qui pourra servir à bien exprimer la vraie communication que Iesus Christ nous donne par la Cène en son corps et en son sang; de l'exprimer, dy-ie, en sorte qu'on cognoisse que ce n'est point par imagination ou pensée que nous les recevons, mais que la substance nous est vraiment donnée.* Institution, 4:17:19. Laud's notations were made on Bellarmine's Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini Politiani Societatis Jesu de Controversiis Christianae Fidei Adversus Huius Temporis Haereticos (3 vols.). Works, 6 (Part 2): 607-8. For Bellarmine's words, see his Opera, 4: 7. To Bellarmine's statement that substance according to itself has a position neither with regard to place nor to surrounding bodies (Opera, 4: 7-8), Laud commented, *Non habet ordinem ad locum: ergo non occupat.* (Works, 6 (Part 2: 650).) His concern here seems to have been to deny a local or circumscribed presence in the elements, not to deny the presence of the substance itself in the celebration of the eucharist.

¹⁵⁴Laud, Works, 2: 327, ft.nt. c; see also, Bellarmine, Opera, 4:7.

¹⁵⁵Works, 2: 328 [emphasis is mine]. The reference is probably to Bellarmine's words, *Quarto, Concilium dicit, Christum in Sacramento esse vere. Id quod asseritur contra omnes Sacramentarios qui volunt Christum adesse, ut in signo et figura.* (Opera, 4: 7.) For other defences of Calvin by Laud, see Works, 2: 331, 367-68, ft.nt. a, and Works, 6 (Part 2): 651, 668.

¹⁵⁶If Calvin knew what Laud was writing, he would surely, to use the popular saying, "have turned over in his grave"!

¹⁵⁷Works, 6: 57 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁵⁸ See, e.g., sermons 4, 10, 14, 16 in XCVI Sermons by the Right Honorable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester (London: George Miller, 1629).

¹⁵⁹ It is not surprising that, in the nineteenth century, Tractarians like Pusey appealed to Laud, particularly to his speech in the Star Chamber, in support of their eucharistic doctrine. The Articles Treated on in Tract 90, p. 51. J. B. Mozley saw Laud's concern with Church externals as ultimately a doctrinal concern in which the question of the altar was tied to the affirmation or denial of a "high" doctrine of the eucharistic presence. Essays Historical and Theological, 2 vols. (London, Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1878), 1: 170. Laud rescued the Church of England from a Genevan sense of understanding her Articles of Religion and from the fast tightening grasp of Calvinism, Mozley asserted. The "Catholic aspect" of the English Church was saved by him and remains a memorial to his influence. Ibid., pp. 227-28. Mozley emphasized the dissimilarity between Laud's innovating "high-churchmanship" and the established Calvinistic school dominant in the Church of England since the Reformation. Ibid., pp. 114-16. On the opposite end of the theological spectrum, the Calvinist confessionalist, John Macleod, understood Laud's sacramental teaching to have suggested something akin to Lutheranism: "Such repeated, distinct and definite repudiation of the Lutheran view of the Supper [by the 1647 Westminster Confession and the larger Catechism] might be called for in particular by the ungrowth of high Sacramental doctrine in the Anglican school of Laud." Scottish Theology. In Relation to Church History (Edinburgh: The Knox Press, 1943), p. 24. W. J. Grisbrooke, on the other hand, has argued that Laud and the theological school which followed him taught what might be labelled "dynamic virtualism", the "classical high Anglican" doctrine of the eucharist in the seventeenth century. Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, p. xv. Laud, Grisbrooke argued, believed in a real presence mediated through the bread and wine, and that in virtue of this use, there was something holy about the elements themselves. Ibid., p. 17. This, however, would be saying too little, since as Dugmore has pointed out, "It is legitimate to ask whether a spiritual presence can be said to have its 'greatest place of residence upon earth' ... the altar, without implying some kind of local presence". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 51, ft.nt. 3. Dugmore has argued that Laud, "who was not a profound theologian, never stated clearly what it was that he adored in the Eucharist". Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁶⁰ Baillie, quite unjustly, categorized Montague together with Laud and Cosin. Ladensium AYTOKATAKPIEIE, The Canterburians Self-Conviction: or, An Evident Demonstration of the Avowed Arminisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their Owne Confessions (Edinburgh: J. Bryson, 1640), p. [A 3 R]. The Puritan, William Prynne, also attacked Laud (*post mortem*) for having taught that Christ's "very natural body is really present on the altar in the consecrated bread". Canterburies Doome (London: John Macock for Michael Spark, 1646), p. 204.

¹⁶¹ "Friday, the Convocation sat after the ending of the Parliament till May 29, and then ended; having made in that time 17 Canons; which, I hope, will be useful to the Church." (May 29, 1640.) "Friday, I took my oath to the new Canons at the Council Table...." (July 10, 1640.) From Laud's Diary, Works, 3: 236.

¹⁶²Ibid., 5 (Part 2): 624-26.

¹⁶³Ibid., 2: 364, ft.nt. 2.

¹⁶⁴The words of the Roman mass are, *ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui, Domini nostri Jesu Christ.* See, The Missal in Latin and English (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1957), p. 698. The words of the 1548 Edwardian Liturgy are, "... and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl+ess and sanc+tify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ..." The Two Liturgies in the Reign of Edward VI, p. 88. The words of the Scottish Liturgy are, "... and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son..." Liturgiae Britannicae, pp. 210, 214. Works, 3: 354-55.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 355.

¹⁶⁶It was during his period in Oxford that, under Laud's patronage, he probably wrote this treatise. Porter, Jeremy Taylor, p. 11. Why the work, which obviously was in tune with Laud's thinking, remained unpublished, has not been answered.

¹⁶⁷On the Reverence Due to the Altar, ed., John Barrow (Oxford & London: J. H. Parker, 1848), p. 23. This was the first printing, from the original MS in the library of Queen's College, Oxford.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 42: "And the reason [for the veneration of the altar] is expressed by S. Chrysostom hom: 21 in 2. Cor.: c. 10, σὺ δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τιμᾷς ὅτι δέχεται τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα. Thou doest reverence or honour the Altar, because it is the seat of the body of Christ."; see also, PG, 61: 540 (In Epist. 2, ad Cor. Homil. 20).

¹⁷¹On the Reverence, p. 44.

¹⁷²"... and S. Chrysostom in the place before quoted, hom: 21, in 2 Cor.: *Tu autem altare hoc honoras* (not for any innate excellency in it selfe, much lesse for any latent divinity, but) *quia suscipit corpus Domini*, for its relation to the body of Christ for which it is appointed as an Arke or Tabernacle." Ibid., pp. 46-47. See also, PG, 61: 540.

¹⁷³Among the new appointments were included: 1 chalice with a cover silver and gilt, 2 patens silver and gilt, 2 pewter flaggons, 1 Diaper napkin for a Corporall, 1 altar cloth of green silk damask, 2 altar cloths of Diaper, 1 long cushion of crimson velvet lined with crimson searge, and 4 great tassels of crimson silk. Porter, Jeremy Taylor, p. 140.

¹⁷⁴Works., 3: 294.

¹⁷⁵See, e.g., his 1650 The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living (ibid., 4: 288 ff.); Clerus Domini in 1651 (ibid., 14: 468-73).

¹⁷⁶C. A. Swainson, ed., The Greek Liturgies Chiefly from Original Authorities (Cambridge: University Press, 1884), p. 137.

¹⁷⁷ST, 3a.76.3.

¹⁷⁸Works, 3: 311.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 4: 312 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 9: 466.

¹⁸¹"... secondly, if Luther's and the ancient schoolmen's ways be true, that Christ's body be present together with the bread; - in that sense Christ's words might be true, though no transubstantiation; and this is the sense, which is followed by the Greek Church." Ibid., 10: 16-17 (The Real Presence).

¹⁸²Ibid., 9: 480.

¹⁸³Ibid., 10: 34; see also, Aquinas, ST, 3a.76.4.

¹⁸⁴Works, 10: 34-35.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., 9: 428-29.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 10: 32-33.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 15: 428.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 527.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 429-30.

¹⁹¹One must not regard this change as a rigid and absolute one. In The Great Exemplar, Taylor used language of instrumentality (ibid., 3: 294), while in The Worthy Communicant, he still wrote at times as if the presence was somehow attached to the elements (e.g., he referred to the sacrament as a "veil" hiding Christ, and he claimed that, as soon as one takes the "holy elements" into oneself, one has taken Christ into oneself). Ibid., 15: 428, 652, 673.

¹⁹²Works, 1: lxxxix (Heber-Eden edition). See, e.g., Moulin, A Defence of the Catholicke Faith, pp. 267-73; Simon Episcopus, Opera Theologica (Amsterdam: Ioannis Blaev, 1650), p. 41; G. J. Vossius, Theses Theologiae et Historicae (Leiden: W.T., 1628), pp. 451-52, 479-80; Vossius, Disputatio Theologica de Sacramentorum Vi et Efficacia (Oxford: Fletcher et Hanwell, 1795), pp. 203, 211-12, 218, 223, 228, 232-33, 238-39.

¹⁹³Works, 1: lxxxix (Heber-Eden edition). Taylor's knowledge and approval in 1660 of these Lutheran works opens up the possibility that he had known them earlier, and had been influenced by, at least, Chemnitz when he had made a closer connection between the bread and Christ's body

in his theology. Apparently, Taylor did not accept Gerhard's disavowal of "consubstantiation", and failed to perceive any essential difference between Chemnitz and Gerhard on the question of the relationship of bread and body.

¹⁹⁴Works, 1: 343-44; see also p. 35.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 4: 78, 98.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 23, ft.nt. g; see also, Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 177-78.

¹⁹⁸Works, 4: 22-23.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 24-25.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 25.

²⁰¹*Haec exempla ideo commemoravi, ut ostenderem, vulgarem & usitatum in Scriptura esse modum illum de conjunctione, praesentia & exhibitione duarum distinctarum rerum praedicandi, per copulationem subjecti, & attributi, quanquam in omnibus exemplis non eadem est ratio unionis: In Christo est hypostatica unio, talis non est vel columba Baptistae, vel in pane Coenae; sed alterius generis; vere tamen & substantialis. Fundamenta, p. 17; The Lord's Supper, p. 53.*

²⁰²*Copula, Est, denotat, quid illud sit, quod adest, quod exhibetur & accipitur, quod scilicet Panis iste, post acceptum nominationem Dei, non sit tantum Panis; sed simul etiam corpus Christi. Fundamenta, p. 14; The Lord's Supper, p. 46. The nineteenth-century editor of Thorndike's Works pointed out the similarity with Chemnitz' Fundamenta. See, Works, p. 23, ft.nt. g; p. 25, ft.nt. l.*

²⁰³See, Works, 4: 44.

²⁰⁴Die Bekenntnisschriften, pp. 983-84.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p. 1,001.

²⁰⁶While there is no direct evidence that Thorndike knew Chemnitz' Examinis, his familiarity with the Lutheran tradition and with Chemnitz' Fundamenta makes the probability of such knowledge quite high.

²⁰⁷Works, 4 (Part 2): 576 (Epilogue).

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 738.

²⁰⁹Ibid.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 576.

²¹¹Ibid., p. 81.

²¹²Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 1,001. Andrewes, as we saw, also denied an absolute permanence of the presence (supra, p. 191).

²¹³Ibid., 5: 546.

²¹⁴Ibid., 4: 36.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 37.

²¹⁶Ibid., pp. 116-17.

²¹⁷Ibid., p. 112.

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 79.

²¹⁹Ibid.

²²⁰This is not to suggest, however, that Thorndike understood the nature of the eucharistic body in the same way as did the Lutherans. As we saw in chapter three, and as we shall see in chapter six, he taught that it is the *Spirit* who dwells in the blood and wine, and that the body of Christ by incarnation and the bread by consecration become sacramentally one by being one with the Spirit. The nature of the sacramental union is a union of bread and Spirit! Nevertheless, in terms of the relationship between the eucharistic *presence* and the elements, he spoke in a very Lutheran way.

²²¹For in, with, and under language by Lutherans, see, e.g., the *Kleiner Katechismus* and *Grosser Katechismus* of Luther (*Die Bekenntnisschriften*, pp. 519-20, 709) and the *Konkordienformel* (*ibid.*, 797, 984).

²²²Various writers have rightly pointed out that ideas about the altar or communion table frequently reflected differences in doctrine. See, e.g., H. Davies, *Worship and Theology*, 2: 7-17. H. R. Trevor-Roper went so far as to write: "To the puritan the communion-table was only a table, and the communion a commemorative meal [sic]: to set the table up in the east, bedizened with trappings, was to convert it into an altar, as the Papists did, and to show it reverence was idolatry. To the high churchman, however, the table was an altar, the communion a magic function [sic]: the sacraments were the body and blood of Christ, transmuted by the divine power delegated to the priest; and no reverence, no ceremonies, were superfluous in the presence of so important and formidable a mystery. This difference of practice thus entailed a difference of doctrine...." *Archbishop Laud*, p. 45. Despite the exaggerations of this passage, it does point to the connection between doctrine and its liturgical and architectural expression. Nonetheless, this is not an *absolute* connection, since, for example, during Cosin's later life, when he held a doctrine emphasizing Christ's presence in the use of the sacrament rather than in the elements, he still wanted an altar in the east end of the chancel, covered with silk and linen, and still wanted there to be "paten, chalice & other descent furniture meet for the High Mysteries there to be celebrated". Cuming, *Durham Book*, pp. xxii-xxiii, 132.

²²³Cuming, *The Anglicanism of John Cosin*, p. 3.

²²⁴In various ways the 1549 rite influenced Caroline theologians, e.g., Cosin linked together the 1549 Prayer Book and the retention of altars. He claimed that the pulling down of altars and setting up of tables began only at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's

reign. Works, 5: 85 (first series of notes on the Prayer Book). Laud, with his preference for altars, was certainly part of this movement, so much so, that his name is often attached to it (see, e.g., Cuming, The Anglicanism of John Cosin, p. 3). Taylor, likewise, was a protégé of Laud in these matters and, in his early days, even used language similar to that of the 1549 Prayer Book in his description of the *locus* of the presence (supra, p. 231). Thorndike, in his discussion of consecration, acknowledged that the 1549 Prayer Book was better than the one currently in use in his day (see, p. 407). In all these ways, the 1549 Prayer Book was making itself felt in the seventeenth century.

V: COMMUNION IN CHRIST'S EUCHARISTIC BODY

The nature of eucharistic communion is another way in which the doctrine of sacramental presence expresses and manifests itself. How does one receive the body of Christ? Who can receive the flesh of Christ? There are three elements or strands which are woven together in the teaching of holy communion: 1. the importance of faith, 2. the relationship between the communicant's body and Christ's body, and 3. the issue of *manducatio impiorum*.¹ Because these three factors are so closely linked in the question of sacramental participation, it is best to examine them in relation to each other within the thinking of each of the Caroline theologians being examined.

In Saravia's De Sacra Eucharistia, he argued that there are three kinds of manducation of Christ's body: 1. Capernaitic or carnal eating, such as the Jews imagined Jesus to have meant when he spoke of eating and drinking His flesh and blood in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, 2. spiritual eating, which occurs by faith, and 3. sacramental eating, which takes place when one receives the bread and body and the wine and blood.²

The third kind of eating, sacramental, is done by both good and bad (*pii et impii*), since both eat the body and drink the blood with their mouths when they receive the bread and wine. To claim that one can partake of the outward sign without partaking of the things signified, i.e., the body and blood, is to divide and dissolve the sacrament, Saravia argued.³ No theologian at any time, he continued, has denied that the sacrament of Christ's body is carnally and visibly (*carnaliter et visibiliter*) received even by the wicked. This statement, however,

cannot be construed as meaning only a manducation of bread and wine, since the sacrament consists of bread and body, wine and blood, according to Saravia. If one were to receive only the earthly elements, one would receive no sacrament, because either the sacrament is received whole and perfect, or not at all: *Qui tantum panem recipit, Sacramentum nullum recipit; aut enim integrum suscipitur sacramentum, aut nullum.*⁴ That it is possible for hypocrites⁵ sacramentally to eat and drink the flesh and blood is no more contrary to reason than for the wicked to have touched and kissed God when they so acted toward Christ. When He was pressed upon by the crowd, no one *profited* or *benefited* from the touch except the one woman who touched with faith the Lord's garment, but they all touched Him.⁶ Saravia insisted that the two parts of the sacrament can no more be separated from each other than the two natures of Christ can be dissolved. The whole sacrament, therefore, is received by both hypocrites and faithful, such that both visible and invisible parts are received.⁷ Saravia's use of *hypocritae* and *impij* cannot be understood as meaning weak or bad Christians who, nevertheless, possess faith, since he explicitly judged the position as false which asserted that Christ's body and blood cannot be eaten and drunk sacramentally except by those who did so spiritually and by faith.⁸ Unbelief does not inhibit the reception of the body of Christ; rather, it frustrates the effect (*effectum*) of the sacrament. Those who do not discern the Lord's body, eat and drink damnation to themselves.⁹

Saravia did not accept as legitimate the distinction, made by some on the basis of St. Augustine,¹⁰ between *Panem Dominum* and *panem Domini*, if this distinction was made to prove that the wicked do not receive the body as well as the bread:

... *sed non concedam per 'panem Domini' Augustinum intellexisse tantum panem sacramentalem sine Corpore Domini Judam accepisse; quum pluribus in locis diserte*

*affirmet illum cum ceteris Apostolis edisse Corpus et bibisse Sanguinem Domini. Sed illis verbis discrimen constituit inter manducationem internam et Spiritualem piorum discipulorum et externam et tantum Sacramentalem proditoris Judae.*¹¹

Saravia argued that those who denied this position were in the same error as the Donatists; there were, he claimed, many Anabaptists who did not believe that the whole sacrament is given^{/to} and received by the unfaithful (*infidelibus*).¹²

One pillar of Saravia's assertion that the wicked also receive the body of Christ was his distinction between the reception of the sacrament (bread and body) and the reception of the "virtue" of the sacrament. The sacrament, consisting of visible elements and the invisible body and blood, is one thing, he argued; its virtue or benefit or grace in the strict sense is another. Confusion arises, according to Saravia, because the invisible grace is two-fold, i.e., 1. the body and blood, and 2. the virtue of the sacrament (*virtus sacramenti*). Both are signified under an outward visible form and are called *Res Sacramenti*. The former, however, is the cause of the latter. The benefit or grace in the strict sense can be accepted or rejected by men, and the whole sacrament (bread and body) can be taken without this grace, which responds to the faith of the communicant.¹³ The grace or virtue in the strict sense of benefit is received only by the faithful, while the grace in the sense of the body of Christ is received by both good and wicked: *Sacramentalis Gratia cujus pii tantum sunt participes, ad ipsos integri Sacramenti susceptionem non restringit....*¹⁴ Putting it another way, Saravia wrote:

*Sanctitatis vero et Gratiae, quam continent, fides participes facit, quo fructu incredulitas manducantem et bibentem privat, reumque facit violati Corporis at Sanguinis Christi; sed Sacramenti essentiam non tollit. Sacramentum, a quocunque sumatur, permanet id quod est, nempe, Res Sacra, constans ex terrena et coelesti.*¹⁵

Another pillar of Saravia's teaching on *manducatio impiorum* was

his distinction between spiritual and sacramental eating. All who partake of the eucharist, he asserted, eat and drink the same spiritual meat and drink (*escam et potum Spiritualem*), but only the faithful do so salvifically.¹⁶ The godly partake both with their mouths and spiritually by faith, while the wicked partake only with their mouths and without faith.¹⁷ This latter group eats the body only corporeally: *Atque ita veri fideles fide, corporis ore et cordis, Christi Carnem Spiritualiter manducant et Sanguinem bibunt: hypocritae vero tantummodo corporaliter, corporis ore, Sacramentum.*¹⁸ It is possible, according to Saravia, to eat spiritually and sacramentally the body, i.e., to partake of the body and to receive the benefit coming from it. Yet, it is also possible spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ apart from the sacrament. The words of Jesus recorded in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel do not refer to the sacramental, but to the spiritual eating by faith, whereby it is effected that a man dwells in Christ and Christ in him.¹⁹ A summary of Saravia's distinction between sacramental and spiritual eating is found in these words:

*Postremo Sacramenta non tantum habent rationem imaginis, sed etiam testimonii et sigilli quae testantur Res divinas et coelestes in terris celebrari, tradi et accipi ab iis qui Mysteriis initiantur. Unde ego consequens arbitror tradi, et percipi ab, hypocritis Sacramentaliter verum Corpus et verum Sanguinem Christi. Nihil me movent altercationes theologorum clamantium verba Servatoris nostri docere contrarium, quando ait, 'Qui edit Carnem Meam et bibit Sanguinem Meum habet vitam aeternam.' Illis enim verbis luce clarius est Dominum non fuisse loquutum de Sacramentali manducatione, sed de illa quae fit per fidem; nisi quis contendat Sacramentaliter non posse Carnem Domini manducari et Sanguinem potari nisi ab eo qui etiam fide et Spiritualiter id faciat; quod falsum est.*²⁰

Saravia also taught *manducato oralis*. The whole sacrament is in the mouth of all, good and bad: *Idem (inquam) Sacramentum totum nulla sui parte diminutum, est in ore omnium bonorum et malorum. . .*²¹

Just as the Israelites bore about in the flesh the covenant of God, so Christians hold in their hands the covenant of God and with their

mouths receive it into themselves: *Quemadmodum Israelitiae in carne sua Foedus Dei gerebant, ita Christiani Foedus Dei tenent manibus et ore Totum intra se recipiunt.*²² Saravia rejected as wholly false the teaching that since the body of Christ is spiritual food pertaining to the soul, it cannot be eaten with the mouth of the body:

*Si Corpus est Cibus Spiritualis, ac proinde animi, non corporis ore manducari debet, Est enim hoc axioma falsissimum, quia ad animum Cibus Ille Spiritualis non restringitur, sed ad totum hominem Spiritualem, qui quamdiu hic vivitur, constat animo et corpore.*²³

The grace or fruit of the sacrament, which pertains only to those who receive the eucharist with faith,²⁴ also concerns the body. This spiritual eating of the sacrament accomplishes something which spiritual eating by faith apart from the eucharist does not. Since redemption involves man's body as well as his soul, God instituted sacraments of a bodily nature so that through them He might introduce Himself into the communicant's body and there be glorified and borne about: *Emit enim Sanguine Suo Dominus non tantum animas nostras sed etiam corpora. Propter illa sunt corporea sacramenta Instituta, ut Se Dominus etiam hoc pacto insinuet corporibus nostris, et sic Deum glorificemus et portemus in corpore nostro.*²⁵ It was a false conclusion, according to Saravia, which claimed that the flesh of Christ is spiritual food only to the soul; rather it is the spiritual food of the whole man, body and soul. It is precisely from the flesh of Christ that immortality flows into man's body through the mouth, benefits both soul and body; that which bread and wine supply to the natural man, the body and blood supply to the body and soul of the Christian man. The effects of this spiritual/sacramental eating, just as in baptism, include remission of sins, newness of life, increase of Christian virtues and the resurrection of body and soul to immortal life.²⁷ What the eucharistic body and blood effect in the communicant's

soul, that they also effect in his body:

*Quod efficit Cibus Potusque Coelestis in animis nostris, illud ipsum quoque operatur in nostris corporibus. Spiritualis homo qui natus est ex Spiritu, totus Cibo Potuque Illo pascitur; at ille constat corpore et animo; vescitur ergo etiam ore corporeo in Sacramento Spiritualiter Pane suo Coelesti, sicut et animo.*²⁸

Saravia explicitly rejected the teaching that the body is not capable of receiving spiritual food and drink and that it is no more possible for the body spiritually to eat Christ's flesh than it is possible for the soul to eat the flesh bodily. To say that sacraments cannot be received spiritually in the body or by the mouth of the body is a "new theology" (*Nova theologia haec est Sacramenta non posse Spiritualiter recipi corpore vel corporeo ore.*).²⁹ Spirit and flesh are opposed to each other, not body and soul, according to Saravia. *Caro* refers to the whole man corrupted in body and soul; *Spiritus* refers to the whole man regenerated and sanctified in body and soul.³⁰ God wants to fill both parts of man's nature with the grace of His divine power, and because of man's nature as both a spiritual and earthly being, He accomplishes this through sacraments subject to the senses.³¹ Spiritual eating and bodily eating are not opposed to each other, just as spiritual food and bodily food are not, but consist together: *Tenendum igitur nobis est quod corporea et Spiritualis manducatio non sunt res contrariae, sicut etiam non sunt corporeus et Spiritualis Cibus; simul enim consistunt.*³² The eucharistic bread which is seen, touched and eaten at the altar is bodily food, but is also spiritual food, Saravia taught, since that which is given thereby, the body of Christ, is something *invisibilis et coelestis et spiritualis*. As man's body, as well as his soul, is capable of receiving the grace or benefit of the eucharist, the sacrament is composed of a bodily part and a spiritual

part.³³

Saravia did not accept the argument that the body of Christ is efficacious for the communicant's body through the medium of the soul, i.e., the benefit of spiritual eating by the soul flowing from there into the body, the soul first being gifted with the life and then transmitting it to the body. On the contrary, the communicant's body becomes a partaker of spiritual and heavenly life by immediate consequence (*proxime*) upon the spiritual eating of the body of Christ with the mouth of the body:

*Maculam superioris erroris non abstergunt quando aiunt, Beneficium manducationis Spiritualis animi manare ad corpus; ac si non proxime a manducata Spiritualiter ore corporali Carne Christi, corpora nostra Spiritualem et Coelestem Vitam perciperent; sed prior animus Illa donaretur qui postea Illam ad corpus transmitteret. Spiritus Sanctus Qui fidelium inhabitat corpora, quando corporeo manducant et bibunt ore Sacramenta Corporis et Sanguinis Domini non est otiosus, ut proxime in illis nihil operetur, et quod corporeo fit ore non fiat etiam Spiritualiter in toto corpore.*³⁴

It should be noted at this point that Saravia employed the term "spiritual" in two different ways. On one hand, when he meant an eating by faith, he distinguished it from sacramental, corporeal eating, without opposition to this eucharistic manducation, as seen above. This pertains only to the faithful. On the other hand, he used "spiritual" as a way of describing the eucharistic food itself, *esca et potus spiritualis*,³⁵ and the mode or manner of presence, exhibition and communication of Christ's body and blood, *supernaturalis, divina, coeleste et spiritualis*.³⁶ As such, it refers to that which is objectively received in the sacrament, regardless of the faith of the communicant.³⁷ It is possible, then, according to Saravia, for the ungodly to eat with their mouth the spiritual food present and communicated in an ineffable, divine and spiritual manner, and yet not to receive the virtue or benefit in either soul or body of the body

and blood, because they have not eaten spiritually by faith. The faithful, on the other hand, eat the spiritual food spiritually in the sacrament.

In his teaching on the communication of the body and blood, Saravia stood solidly with the Lutheran position, asserting that all receive the whole sacrament, earthly elements and body and blood, regardless of faith or disposition, a position which re-echoed the *Wittenberg Concord*, to which Saravia gave his whole-hearted assent.³⁸ While in biblical usage the sign was often taken for the thing signified, and vice versa, and while this involved a synecdoche or metaphor, this should not be understood so as to permit the earthly and heavenly parts to be separated from each other, he argued. The bread without the body is no sacrament. Therefore, Saravia concluded that the wicked or faithless receive the body as well as the bread. Teaching that Judas also received the body at the Last Supper, that faith was not the only means of reception, and that there are three kinds of eating, Capernaitic, spiritual and sacramental, Saravia thereby maintained a position very different from that of the Reformed. Calvin, for example, in his commentary on the Gospel of St. John, while admitting that the sixth chapter referred to the perpetual eating by faith and not to the eucharist directly, had argued that there was nothing expressed there which was not figured and actually presented to believers in the sacrament; the Supper was a seal of this discourse. This did not mean, however, that the eucharistic body/^{can} be received in any other way than by faith. Calvin had rejected the "mad idea" that Judas received the body of Christ when he was given the outward sign, arguing that those who taught any eating of the flesh of Christ without faith were ridiculous, since faith alone is the mouth and stomach of the soul (*quum sola fides, os (ut ita dicam) animae sit ac*

ventriculus).³⁹ The body of Christ cannot be eaten sacramentally *realement*, without being eaten spiritually, he asserted in the *Institution*.⁴⁰ Those devoid of the Spirit cannot eat the flesh of Christ.⁴¹ On the basis of St. Augustine, Calvin argued that the distinction between *le pain qui estoit Iesus Christ*, which the other disciples ate, and *le pain de Iesus Christ*, which Judas ate, excluded unbelievers from participation in the body and blood.⁴² Neither did he accept the distinction between receiving the body of Christ and receiving its effect or virtue, a distinction made by Saravia.⁴³ For Calvin, there was the virtue of the sacrament and there was the visible bread and wine, but no invisible eating of the body different from the spiritual eating and no three-fold division of manducation.⁴⁴

Even the thinking of Martin Bucer, the "moderate" sixteenth-century theologian appealed to by Saravia several times in *De Sacra Eucharistica*, did not affect Saravia's teaching in any fundamental way. Bucer, who had been instrumental in achieving the *Wittenberg Concord*, had later qualified his understanding of it, claiming that it did not mean that the ungodly or unbelievers receive the body of Christ. Rather, the "unworthy" referred to in the concord are those who approach the table still intending to receive the sacraments instituted by the Lord.⁴⁵ Even in a 1536 letter of Bucer to Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford, which Saravia included in his treatise, this position was rather subtly put forward:

*Jam quia fallere Deus non potest, et actionem Ecclesiae Suae Sua Institutione nitentem ratam habet, quis dubitet omnes eos integrum etiam Sacramentum assumere, qui Verbis Domini et Institutioni fidem accomodantes, nulloque eo pravo sensu pervertentes, sumunt Sacramentum: etiam si Corpus et Sanguinem Domini non dijudicantes, reos se interim faciant Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, ac inde Cibo hoc Vivifico non fruantur ad Vitam ad Quod tamen illis haec omnia exhibentur.*⁴⁶

Saravia, however, seems to have been oblivious to the meaning of these words of Bucer, at least in terms of affecting his own understanding of *manducatio impiorum*.

The sixteenth-century Lutherans, however, had taught all the main points which Saravia was to incorporate into his De Sacra Eucharistia. Luther, whose teaching Saravia approved of, as we have already seen, distinguished in his 1527 Dass diese Wort Christi between bodily eating in the sacrament and spiritual eating. To eat the eucharistic body of Christ *beneficially*, he argued, it was necessary to do so spiritually as well as corporeally.⁴⁷ His Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis of the following year asserted that Christ's body is given to, and received by, both the worthy and the godless, such as Judas.⁴⁸ Chemnitz, whose writings Saravia might have known (*supra*, p. 142) articulated a three-fold eating in Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae: 1. a proper physical or Capernaitic eating, as is done to bread, 2. an oral or sacramental eating of the body which does not take place in a gross way, and 3. a spiritual eating which can take place either outside or within the celebration of the eucharist, when faith lays hold of the benefits of Christ's sacrifice (the eating referred to in John 6).⁴⁹ The *Konkordienformel*, similarly, taught that the body of Christ is received in the sacrament regardless of the faith of the communicant and that it was also taken by Judas along with the eucharistic bread.⁵⁰ The confession also distinguished between spiritually eating the body of Christ by faith and sacramentally eating the body by the mouth, which is done by all who receive the sacramental elements. Without the spiritual participation, however, the eucharistic eating is pernicious and damning, it taught.⁵¹

Moreover, Saravia's affirmation that the communicant's mouth and body receive the body of Christ had also been part of the Lutheran

sacramental tradition. Luther had described the eucharistic eating as *leiblich*.⁵² While rejecting a Capernaitic notion by which Christ's body would be bitten, chewed and digested like a piece of beef,⁵³ he taught that the body is received orally.⁵⁴ Likewise, Chemnitz had argued that those who eat the sacrament, receive and eat with their physical mouths not only the bread but at the same time that body which was given for the world's redemption. This, however, does not take place in the physical way by which ordinary bread is eaten:

*Ita certo & vere fieri non dubitemus, quod ipse Filius Dei in verbis Testamenti sui affirmat, vescentes scilicet in Coena ore corporis sui accipere & manducare non tantum panem; sed simul etiam corpus illud, quod pro nobis traditum est, licet hoc non fiat ratione physica, sicut in manducatione panis.*⁵⁵

Chemnitz emphasized that Christ is united to the communicant not only by the Spirit or divinity through faith, but in a bodily and natural way:

*Tradunt enim veteres, Christum non tantum Spiritu seu divinitate, per fidem; sed per participationem illam, quae fit in Coena, uniri nobis etiam corporaliter, naturaliter, & participatione naturali. Haec enim sunt ipsorum verba, quae non de modo; sed de ipsa natura, seu substantia corporis Christi intelligunt.*⁵⁶

He asserted that participation in the body and blood takes place not only by the works of the soul, arguing that the early Church proved the salvation of the flesh by teaching that both body and soul receive the body and blood in the eucharist.⁵⁷ This teaching of an immediate union of Christ's body with the communicant's body was particularly close to that put forward by Saravia thirty-five years later.⁵⁸

The change in thinking which occurred between Saravia's participation in the creation of the 1561 *Belgic Confession* - which denied that Christ's body is received by the mouth, claimed that Judas

received the sacrament but not Christ, and maintained that the means of a participating in Christ's body and blood is by the Spirit through faith⁵⁹ - and his writing of De Sacra Eucharistia in 1605/1606, is major. It is a movement from Reformed theology to Lutheran theology. What is even more important for our purposes is that he wrote such a /to Lutheran treatise either oblivious/or unconcerned about how fundamentally at odds it was with the official teaching of the Church of England, of which he was a priest, and how distant he was from the sixteenth-century Anglican heritage.⁶⁰

When we look at Bishop Andrewes' teaching concerning eucharistic communion, we do not find such a clearly articulated position as we did with Saravia. Nonetheless, there is one idea which stands out in his teaching as expressed in his sermons - his association of reception of the Holy Spirit with reception of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist. In the sacrament, he said in his 1592 Sermon in the Second Commandment, we are "made to 'drink of the Spirit', and so perfected in the highest mystery of this society".⁶¹ On the feast of Pentecost in 1608, Andrewes taught that Christ had instituted *escam spiritualem*, which is so called "not so much for that it is received spiritually, as for that being so received it maketh us, together with it, to receive the Spirit, even *potare Spiritum* - it is the Apostle's own word".⁶² Three years later, he expressed the same idea like this: "There is 'a spiritual meat', and 'a spiritual drink', saith the Apostle; in which kind there is none so apt to procreate the Spirit in us as that flesh and blood which was itself conceived and procreated by the Spirit . . .".⁶³ In 1622 on Easter Sunday, he emphasized the eucharist as the meeting point for the incarnation, pentecost and the

deification of man. The flesh which was given to the Word by man, he said, is returned to man together with the Spirit in the sacrament, so that man "should be flesh of His flesh, not He of ours as before, but we of His now; that we might be vegetate with His Spirit, even with the Divine Spirit. For now in Him the Spirits are so united as partake one and partake the other withal."⁶⁴ Two years later, on the same festival, he again described the relationship between the reception of the Spirit and the communication of Christ's eucharistic body. As in the natural body the spirit goes with the blood, so in Christ His blood and His Spirit always go together, and in the Spirit there is power, Andrews argued.⁶⁵ This blood which is the "*vehiculum* of the Spirit" is received in the eucharist:

It [the blood] shall be offered you straight in 'The Cup of blessing, which we bless in His name. For 'is not the Cup of blessing which we bless, the Communion of the blood of Christ?' saith St. Paul. Is there any doubt of that? In which blood of Christ is the Spirit of Christ. In which Spirit is all spiritual power; and namely, this power that frameth us fit to the works of the Spirit, which Spirit we are all made there to drink of.⁴⁶

This theme of the gift of the Holy Spirit in sacramental communion, while certainly not unknown in Protestant thinking, was perhaps more strongly emphasized in the Eastern Orthodox tradition. The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, for example, abounds in associations of the reception of the eucharistic gifts with the Holy Spirit. After the epiclesis, the priest prays, "ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος . . .", and in the litany after the consecration, Τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἰτησάμενοι, . . .⁶⁹ There can be no doubt the Andrewes was familiar with, and very fond of, the Orthodox Liturgy, as can be seen by his use of material from it in his own manual of private devotions.⁷⁰ Moreover, he possessed a Greek

edition of the Liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil in his own library.⁷¹ It may be, then, that the Eastern Christian tradition was the source of his emphasis on the gift of the Holy Spirit in holy communion.

It is with regard to the question of *how* one receives the body of Christ, which conveys the Spirit, that we find ambivalence in Andrewes' teaching. In his 1607 Christmas sermon, he told his congregation that the sacrament "doth manifestly represent, it doth mystically impart what it representeth the body and blood . There is in it even the very institution both a manifestation, and that visibly, to set before us this flesh; and a mystical communication to [sic] infeoffe us in it or make us partakers of it".⁷² In 1613, he said that the body and blood of Christ are "set before us" in the eucharist and "On earth we are never so near Him, nor He us, as then and there", he said elsewhere. Yet, to find Christ in the "Breaking of Bread", the mind must be set on Christ and there must be a lifting up of hearts (*sursum corda*) to where Christ is.⁷³ This would suggest that Andrewes understood faith as being the necessary means for receiving Christ's body and blood, in the Reformed 'true' presence sense. Two years later, however, he spoke as if the communicant is directly and immediately joined to Christ's body (Easter sermon):

But to be Temples is not all, we are farther to be *Templum hoc*, 'this Temple'; and this was 'the Temple of His Body'. And that are we, if at any time, then certainly when as if we were Temples in very deed, we prepare to receive, not the Ark of His presence, but Himself, that He may come into us and be in us; which is at what time we present ourselves to receive His blessed Body and Blood; that Body and that Blood which for our sakes was dissolved, dissolved three days since when it suffered for our sins. And this day raised again, when it 'rose for our justification'.

Which when we do, that is, receive this Body or this Temple, for *Templum hoc* and *Hoc est Corpus Meum* are now come to be one, for both *Templum hoc*

and *corpus hoc* are in *Templum corporis Sui*; and when the temples of our body are in this temple, and the Temple of His Body in the temples of ours, then are there three Temples in one, a Trinity, the perfectest number of all, but *Templa corporis Sui*, 'Temples of His Body', and this Scripture fulfilled in us.⁷⁴

In 1619 he expressed a similar idea when he taught his flock on Whitsunday that the communicant takes "into him 'that body, by which the oblation whereof we are all sanctified', and that blood 'in which we have all remission of sins'".⁷⁵ In these passages, Andrewes used language which seems to imply a reception of Christ's body by the communicant's body, a belief found in the 'real' presence tradition.⁷⁶

At Easter in 1621, Andrewes gave one of his most complete expositions of the nature of eucharistic communion in his explanation of how one might reconcile the two statements of Christ, *Accipite et manducate* and *Noli Me tangere*. The latter was directed to St. Mary Magdalene, since "she was all for the corporeal presence, for the touch with the fingers", a "sensual touching" of Christ. She, like the disciples, was addicted to this touching "after the flesh", and had to be weaned from it and to learn a new touch, since Christ would soon ascend. This new manner of touching was by faith: "Faith will elevate itself, that ascending in spirit we shall touch Him and take hold of Him". "The flesh, the touching, the eating it profits nothing. 'The words He spake, were spirit'; so the touching, the eating, to be spiritual". St. Thomas and St. Mary Magdalene, who touched Christ on earth, had their part in Him only because they touched Him with faith as well as with their hands; it was found better to touch the hem of His garments with faith, than without faith to touch any part of His body.⁷⁷ Here again we find the teaching of sixteenth-century Reformed 'true' presence doctrine (held by both

Anglicans and Calvinists) that faith is required in order to receive Christ's body and blood.

In this sermon, Andrewes implicitly denied any corporeal, or "touching with the fingers", eating of the flesh of Christ. His main point, however, concerned not so much the means of reception, but rather, the *fruitful* eating of the body of Christ:

Do but ask the Church of Rome: Even with them it is not the bodily touch in the Sacrament, that doth the good. Wicked men, very reprobates, have that touch, and remain reprobates as before. Nay, I will go farther; it is not that that toucheth Christ at all. Example 'the multitude that thronged and thrust Him'; yet for all that, as if none of them all had touched Him, He asks *Quis Me tetigit?* So that one may rudely thrust Him, and yet not touch Him though, not to any purpose so.⁷⁸

Notice here that the wicked man who does not touch Christ in the sacrament is compared to the crowd which, while physically thrusting, and consequently, touching Christ, does not touch Him "to any purpose". Andrewes was using the word "touch" to mean a beneficial connection with, or communication of, Christ. Yet, Andrewes expressly acknowledged having gone "farther" than the Roman teaching. This would seem to imply that he did not accept any eating of Christ's flesh without faith. This would fit well with his statement that to some people who come to Christ with faith and repentance, He "offers His hand", but to others He says, "Don't touch Me":

It is the case of the Sacrament right. There is place in the taking it, for *noli me tangere*; so is there for *affer manum*; To them that with St. Thomas, in a feeling of the defect of their faith, or of any other spiritual grace, case themselves and cry, 'My Lord, and my God', *affer manum* to them; I set them free, I give them a discharge from this *noli Me tangere*. But for them that are but at 'Rabboni', and scarce so far, bold guests with Him; base in conceit, and homely in behaviour; to them, and to the properly, belongs this *noli Me tangere*, more properly than ever it did [Mary Magdelene]. And so that point reconciled. Thus far for St. Chrysostom, and his taking.⁷⁹

Two years later, in 1623, Andrewes argued that reception of Christ's eucharistic body is the means of the resurrection of the communicant's body:

And as they [the eucharistic mysteries] are a means for the raising of our soul out of the soil of sin - for they are given us, and we take them expressly for the remission of sins - so are they no less a means also, for the raising our bodies out of the dust of death. The sign of that body which was thus 'in the hearth of the earth', to bring us from thence at the last. Our Saviour saith it *totidem verbis*, 'Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My Blood, I will raise him up at the last day - raise him, whether He hath raised Himself. Not to life only, but to life and glory, and both without end.'⁸⁰

Similarly, his *Preces Privatae* taught that eucharistic communion is for the healing of both body and soul (*salutem animae et corporis*), an idea also found in the Orthodox Liturgy.⁸¹

Andrewes' sermons and devotions, then, provide us with a somewhat ambivalent picture of the nature of eucharistic communion. The bishop utilized ideas, it would seem, from both the Reformed 'true' presence tradition and the 'real' presence tradition, one emphasizing faith as the medium for reception of Christ's body, the other emphasizing an immediate and direct conjunction between the communicant's body and Christ's body.

In his polemical battle against Cardinal du Perron in 1629, however, Andrewes defended the former teaching instead of the latter, arguing that the sacramental eating of Christ's body was to be "spiritually" understood:

Wherein yet, lest any might mistake it with the Cardinal, with a wrong *Croyoit, comme contenant le vray et propre corps de Christ*, Saint Augustine presently is careful to warn his auditors, that the word *manducat* there is to be spiritually understood, and he bringeth in Christ thus speaking; *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, cum me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi;*

*spiritualiter intellectum vivificavit vos. Etsi
necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet
tamen invisibiliter intelligi.* Which show that
Saint Augustine was not of⁸² the Cardinal's *Croyoit*
touching of the Sacrament.

To appreciate the significance of Andrewes' phrase "spiritually understood", one must keep in mind that it was pitted against Cardinal du Perron's teaching which also utilized the adjective "*spirituellement*". Perron, however, insisted that this did not *exclude* the corporeal reception of Christ's body by the communicant's body or the corporeal union of the communicant's body with Christ's body.⁸³ The doctrine of the Fathers, he insisted, was that eucharistic communion with Christ's flesh is not a mental manducation by faith, but a 'true' and 'real' manducation which is oral and corporeal:

*. . . n'est-il pas clair, que la manducation, dont
les Pères disent qu'en l'Eucharistie nous mangeons
le corps de Christ, n'est pas une simple manducation
mentale, & par foy, mais est une vraie & reele
manducation, & qu'elle est oralle & corporelle . . .*⁸⁴

Andrewes, then, was asserting the Reformed 'true' presence understanding of "spiritual" eating by faith over against that of Rome. This was in accord with that strand of thinking found in his sermons which describes communion with Christ as a "lifting up of hearts" to heaven and "ascending in spirit" - ideas which re-echo the thinking of sixteenth-century divines, such as Cranmer, Calvin and Jewel, and which, as Gordon E. Pruett has pointed out, form a central conceptualization of the mode of reception in Reformed thought and unite the two aspects of faith and participation in Christ.⁸⁵ Andrewes was a faithful son of the Church of England, therefore, and loyal to her official doctrine (*supra*, pp.45-6) and the sixteenth-century heritage which he had received - at least when he felt pressed to defend her orthodoxy against Roman claims.

In Cosin's first series of notes in the Prayer Book (made between 1619 and 1638), there is evidence to suggest that his early thinking, like that of Saravia before him and like some ideas found in Andrewes' Sermons, was moving away from official Anglican doctrine. In a note in which he castigated Calvinism for "licentious blasphemy", he stated that after the consecration, the body and blood are really and substantially present, exhibited and given "to all that receive it; and all this not after a physical and sensual, but after a heavenly and invisible, and incomprehensible manner".⁸⁶ The phrase, "to all that receive it" is either very imprecise language or is indicative of belief in *manducatio impiorum*. Given the anti-Calvinistic context of this passage, it would seem that the latter option is not impossible.

Cosin also discussed the Prayer Book phrase, "And be also heirs through hope", by connecting reception of the eucharistic elements with the resurrection: "So the ancient fathers were wont to prove the article of our resurrection by the nature of this very sacrament". He argued that if men would take seriously the sacrament's character as *pharmacum ἀθανασίας, medicamentum immortalitatis, et antidotum τοῦ μὴ θανεῖν*, "we should not have them set so slightly by the blessed Sacrament, as they do".⁸⁷ This passage, while not unambiguous as to its implications, can easily be taken to mean that there is an *immediate* connection between the eucharistic body of Christ and the communicant's body - a *communicatio oralis*. While it is not possible that Saravia's treatise influenced him in this direction, since it was not published until the nineteenth century, some of the ideas found in Andrewes' sermons, which were published in 1629, may well have done so.

There is evidence which suggests that Cosin did indeed accept the teaching of a bodily reception of Christ's flesh and blood, and that he was, moreover, directly influenced in this regard by Roman Catholic

theology. In his notes on the Catechism in this first series, he appealed to the Jesuit Maldonatus:

Maldonate, *de Sacr.*, p. 143, after a long examination of the matter, *concludes thus at last with us all*, so the words be not taken *exclusive*, as the puritans will take them, *Corpus Christi sumitur a nobis sacramentaliter, spiritualiter, et realiter, sed non corporaliter*; and so I have heard my Lord Overall preach it an hundred times.⁸⁸

Maldonatus taught (Cosin understood his teaching as agreeing "at least with us all") that to affirm a sacramental, spiritual and real eating of Christ's body is *not* opposed to its reception by the communicant's body. When the word *spiritualiter* is understood in the *exclusive* sense, as meaning reception *only* by the soul of the communicant, then it is understood wrongly. (One must keep in mind that this treatise was written directly against the Calvinists, whom Cosin, as we see in the above passage, identified as the Puritans in England!) The mode of Christ in the sacrament is not *corporale*, Maldonatus argued, because He is not present according to the condition or manner of a body, but according to the manner of a spirit, being wholly present in each part of the sacramental elements, not occupying space.⁸⁹

Nonetheless, Christ's body is eaten not only symbolically, or by faith, or by *animo & Spiritu*, but also by the mouth of the body.⁹⁰ If Cosin understood and accepted this teaching of Maldonatus, which he certainly seems to have done, then, at some stage in his early years he had moved out of the orbit of inherited Reformed 'true' presence thinking into that of Roman sacramental theology.

This is not to suggest that such a movement was complete or absolutely consistent. A eucharistic hymn found in his 1627 Private Devotions, explicitly stated that faith is the means of receiving Christ in the sacrament:

Christians are by Faith assured
 That by Faith Christ is received
 Flesh and bloud most precious.
 What no duller sense conceiveth
 Firme and grounded Faith beleeveth;
 In strange effects not curious.⁹¹

Cosin had altered this hymn taken from St. Thomas Aquinas, adapting the second, fifth and sixth verses of the Corpus Christi hymn, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*. He substituted the first three lines of the above verse for the original, *Dogma datur Christianis, / quod in carnem transit panis / et vinum in sanguinem*.⁹² Here, then, in the "high church" days of Cosin, one sees a deliberate and conscious effort on his part to make a medieval hymn conform to "the doctrine expressed in the 28th and 29th Articles of the Church of England", as Stanwood puts it,⁹³ and to that of the Reformed 'true' presence theology.

By the time that Cosin wrote his tract on transubstantiation in 1647, denials of *manducatio oralis* and *manducatio impiorum* were deeply embedded in his thinking. To say that the bread is the instrument for exhibiting the body⁹⁴ does not eliminate the "cleere distinction between the Sacramental Bread carnally and visibly eaten, and the Body of Christ spiritually and invisibly received; and that some men eate the one, who doe not receive the other".⁹⁵ The wicked heretics do not receive the body of Christ, Cosin argued.⁹⁶ Moreover, he explicitly taught that the outward part of the eucharist is received by the communicant's body while the inward part is received by the soul:

I believe that this doctrine of the ancient Church, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation will never stand together. And though divers endeavours have bin made to reconcile them, yet it will not be; for Origen doth here [35 Tract. on St. Matthew] expressly distinguish the True and Immortal Body of Christ from His typicall and symbollicall Body, making the holy Sacrament to consist of them both; the one

material, and the other spirituall: the
 materiall, and the other spirituall: the
 material part belonging to the belly, and
 the spiritual part to the soule.⁹⁷

In the Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, Cosin expanded the position he set forward in the 1647 tract. Commenting on the liturgical epiclesis in the Liturgy of St. Basil (in the *Durham Book* he suggested a similar one as part of his proposed revision of the Prayer Book⁹⁸), he stated that the element becomes the vivifying body, *Corpus vivificum*, to those who believe, *credentibus*, but to those who do not receive or who do not believe, it may be the antitype, but it is not and does not become the body of Christ, since without faith Christ is never eaten (*tamen illis nequaquam est nec fit Corpus Christi. Nemo enim absque fide Christum manducat*).⁹⁹ He cited the declaration made by the French Churches to the Lutherans at Worms in which it was affirmed that body and blood are *offered* to all, both good and bad,¹⁰⁰ (an affirmation made by Calvin as well¹⁰¹), but his teaching that the body and blood are given when the bread and wine are received¹⁰² was conditioned by his assertion that the bread is made sacramental when broken and eaten¹⁰³ by the faithful.¹⁰⁴ In one passage, Cosin attempted to show that it is not faith which *causes* the presence, but which apprehends (*apprehendit*) it as effected by the word of Christ. Moreover, he argued that the faith by which one is said to eat the body of Christ is not only that faith which believes Christ to have died for the sins of the world (this faith, he said, was required and preceded sacramental manducation), but that which believes the words of Christ, "This is my body". This, Cosin claimed, was St. Augustine's meaning when he wrote, *Quid paras dentem et ventrem? crede, et manducasti*.¹⁰⁵

It is by the power of the Holy Spirit, he asserted, that one is enabled to receive the substance of Christ's body and blood as much as if one were to eat and drink them visibly: *In hac enim mystica manducatione, per admirabilem Spiritu S. virtutem, invisibiliter substantiae Corporis et Sanguis Christi communicamus, haec secus ac si visibiliter Carnem et Sanguinem Ejus ederemus et biberemus.*¹⁰⁶ This emphasis on the role of faith and the Spirit was one deeply embedded in the 'true' presence tradition, as we saw in the first chapter (supra, pp. 27-52). Calvin, moreover, in his 1561 *Dilucida Explicatio*, which Cosin had in his own library,¹⁰⁷ had linked the Spirit with participation in the substance of Christ, teaching that by the incomprehensible agency of the Holy Spirit spiritual life is infused into the communicant from the substance of Christ's flesh, and that one substantially feeds on the flesh and blood of Christ:

*Atqui plus centies occurrit in scriptis meis, adeo me non relidere substantiae nomen, ut ingenue et libenter profitear spiritualem vitam incomprehensibili spiritus virtute ex carnis Christi substantia in nos diffundi. Ubique etiam admitto, substantialiter nos pasci Christi carne et sanguine*¹⁰⁸

The body of Christ, Cosin taught, is neither turned into the communicant's flesh nor does it nourish his flesh (*neque enim Caro Christi carnem nostram alit, nec in eam mutatur*); rather, it feeds the soul to eternal life (*Caro autem Christi animas nostras nutrit in vitam aeternam*).¹⁰⁹ There is no corporeal eating of His body and no corporeal union with Christ:

*. . . in hoc tantum a pontificiis dissidentes, quod illi manducationem hanc et conjunctionem corporaliter fieri credant, nos non naturali aliqua ratione, aut modo corporali, sed tamen tam vere, quam si naturaliter aut corporaliter Christo conjungeremur.*¹¹⁰

The body and blood are offered to the minds (*mentes*) of the faithful

communicants, such that they might fully enjoy (*perfruantur*) Christ as truly and as certainly as the visible signs are seen and received.¹¹¹ That Christ should give His body to be received by the mouth and ground with the teeth by the wicked, infidels, and even animals is to be utterly denied.¹¹² The spiritual eating of Christ's flesh (which is the flesh of Christ as it was crucified and given for the world's redemption) occurs by the souls of the faithful, not by their stomachs, Cosin asserted.¹¹³

While denying that the flesh of the communicant is immediately fed by the natural flesh of Christ, Cosin acknowledged that in some sense the body is affected and involved, by virtue of the reception by the faithful of the heavenly and spiritual gifts through the means of the earthly (*quae mediantibus terrenis*). Our bodies, he said, are fitted for resurrection and immortal glory.¹¹⁴ Here he seems to be suggesting something similar to Calvin's teaching that the body is affected by eucharistic communion, not immediately, but indirectly through the soul's participation in Christ.¹¹⁵

Cosin's denials of *manducatio oralis* and *manducatio impiorum* and his affirmation that it is the soul or mind which receives Christ's flesh and blood are ideas which were part and parcel of the 'true' presence doctrine developed in the sixteenth-century and shared by the English and continental Reformed divines. In his *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis*, Cosin showed his awareness of the affinity between his teaching and this earlier heritage, by, for example, applauding the correctness of Calvin's doctrine, as we have already seen (*supra*, p. 128),¹¹⁶ and by his lengthy and positive quotations from the English Prayer Book, the 1604 Catechism, various sixteenth-century divines, and continental Reformed Confessions.¹¹⁷

There are, however, some passages even in this most thoroughgoing Reformed document which reflect a not altogether consistent position. Cosin denied, for example, that he believed participation in Christ to be effected only by faith: *Male enim a multis Romanensibus nobis objicitur, quasi crederemus hanc Christi praesentiam et communicationem in sacramento per nudam fidem tantum effici.*¹¹⁸ One can only wish that Cosin had spelled out more clearly how participation could be effected, if not by faith and yet not by the mouth. In another passage, he argued that there is a conjunction of both soul and body with Christ, occurring through the sacramental eating, which is not corporeal. This occurs in some other incomprehensible way, known to God alone, which is called *spiritualis*.¹¹⁹ These ideas may well have their immediate source in the teaching of Archbishop de Dominis, whom Cosin earlier in his treatise had described as a *vir in S. Scripturis et antiquorum patrum monumentis versatissimus*,¹²⁰ and who influenced Forbes in this regard, as we shall later see (see, pp. 270 ff.), Forbes' *Considerationes Modestae* could not have been the mediating source since it was not published until 1658, after the writing of Cosin's treatise. With these ideas, Cosin returned to that "high-church" *cul de sac* and refuge of a *mysterium tremendum*, to use Dugmore's terms,¹²¹ yet in a direction which suggests that he wanted to say more than his otherwise Reformed thinking demanded. The general tone of his understanding of eucharistic communion in 1656 and afterwards, nevertheless, was decidedly Reformed.¹²²

Returning to the 1620's and to Montague's teaching on eucharistic communion, we find another Caroline churchman deeply indebted to the heritage he had received. In a mysterious and unknown manner the body and blood of Christ are received, he taught in A New Gagge for an

Old Goose: "Sir, we acknowledge right willingly, and professed, that in the blessed Sacrament (as you call it, of the Altar) the *Body* and *Bloud* of our Saviour Christ is *really* participated & communicate;. . . ."¹²³ And again, "He gave substance, and really subsisting essence, who said, *This is my body: this is my bloud.*"¹²⁴ Montague argued that the words of institution did not say "This is my body corporally; eaten orally; there carnally; conceived of grossely".¹²⁵ These words of his could possibly be interpreted as meaning only that he would not positively commit himself to an oral manducation of Christ's corporeal flesh. This, however, would be saying too little since in several passages, Montague expanded his understanding of the nature of eucharistic communion. What the sacraments "intimate, signifie, and represent", he said, this "they convey unto the soule".¹²⁶ The sacraments are "Visible signs of invisible Grace; Powerful instruments ordained by God, to work in our Soules eternall life, by conveying the means thereof unto them".¹²⁷

The sacramental eating of Christ's body, Montague taught, is to be understood "spiritually", not "carnally". Arguing that one passage of Scripture cannot be "contraried" by another, he applied this principle to two statements: 1. this is my body, and 2. the flesh profiteth nothing (John 6: 63). The latter text, he claimed, is "as plaine a text against carnall eating of Christ's flesh as can be".¹²⁸ Christ's disciples, having heard the discourse on eating His flesh and drinking His blood, had supposed that to do so would mean that they would eat the body "as they did the Fishes, or used to eate the Paschall Lambe". Christ, therefore, explained to them that His discourse was "Sacramentall: not carnally but spiritually to be understood".¹²⁹ What this meant according to Montague is that eating Christ's body and drinking His blood are not to be identified with

any natural manducation:

And to dispute, how can he give us his flesh to eate? All these were carnall thoughts: which must be mystically and spiritually understood. *The words that I speake unto you, are spirit and life*; that is, are divine and spiritual, having nothing carnall, not any inference or consequence naturall: But are freed from all such necessity as this, surpassing legal tyes and conditions below; conteining another sense, and meaning, then is literally set downe.¹³⁰

In order to avoid absurdity and impiety with regard to the words, "The flesh profiteth nothing", one must acknowledge, he argued, 1. that this is a reference to Christ's flesh, 2. that His flesh is indeed life and life-giving, and 3. that the axiom does not stand against "This is my body", but against, "This is my body by this means", i.e., transubstantiation.¹³¹ The text, "The flesh profiteth nothing" became for Montague the means for limiting and determining the interpretation of the institution narrative.

The following year in his Appello Caesarem Montague quoted Calvin *via* Morton, as having taught that Christ's body is truly in the sacrament with respect to the souls of the faithful (supra, p. 98). He also appealed to the passage from the "incomparable HOOKER, that *Puritanomastix*" which states that the only really important issue is whether there is a true participation of Christ and of life in His body and blood by means of the sacrament, and that the *soul* of man is the receptacle of Christ's presence (supra, p. 97). There is no indication that Montague understood the body of Christ to be received into the communicant's body through the mouth.

While he did not give a clear and precise definition of what he meant by "sacramental", "spiritual" and "mystical", Montague's meaning can be discovered from three passages. Firstly, his discussion of the

relationship between the two biblical texts (above) was prefaced by the joining together of several phrases: "This is my body corporally; eaten orally; there carnally; conceived of grossely". Given his repudiation of a "carnal" understanding of the presence, it is evident that he also rejected the reception of the corporeal flesh with the mouth. Secondly, he explicitly stated that transubstantiation is a carnal interpretation of that which "was spoken and intended spiritually onely".¹³² Thirdly, in Appello Caesarem he openly subscribed to article XXVIII of the *Thirty Nine Articles of Religion* (he appealed to the Articles against both Puritan and Roman opponents¹³³), which, as we have already seen (supra, p. 45) /stated that Christ's body is given, taken and eaten only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, by faith. There can be little doubt that Montague's understanding of the communication of Christ's body and blood was essentially Reformed, i.e., a reception of the flesh and blood into the communicant's soul by faith through the instrumentality of the earthly elements of bread and wine.

He left unraised the question of *manducatio indignorum*, but given the rest of his theology of eucharistic presence, his response to this question could hardly have been in the affirmative. Moreover, he taught in Appello Caesarem that the English Church had "made knowne her minde in her publicke, promulgated authorized ARTICLES and COMMUNION BOOK", to which he explicitly subscribed.¹³⁴ Article XXIX, containing the heading, "Of the wicked which do not eate the body of Christe in the use of the Lordes Supper", stated that the wicked and those who do not have a "livelye fayth" are not made "partakers of Christ" although they eat the sacrament of His body and blood.¹³⁵

Several years later in Scotland, William Forbes set out an

understanding of eucharistic communion in his Considerationes Modestae, (written during the 1630's, but, as already mentioned, not published until 1658), which was not so straightforward as that of Montague. There are, he argued, two incorrect ways of understanding the term "spiritual" as a description of the manner of Christ's presence and communication in the sacrament. First, there is the interpretation given by some Protestants, who explain the word as meaning that the communicant receives into him the body of Christ by understanding alone and by bare faith (*nos solo intellectu ac pura fide recipere in nos corpus Christi*).¹³⁶ Many Protestants wrongly teach, he asserted, that the presence and communication of Christ's body and blood are effected by faith (*per fidem effici*) because faith, resting on the word of God, makes things which were promised to be present (*fides verbo Dei nitens, res facit praesentes quae promittuntur*).¹³⁷ This, ostensibly, is a reference to some of the Puritans. William Perkins, for example, in his 1597 A Reformed Catholike had written: "Therefore it is faith alone, that makes Christ crucified to be present unto us in the sacrament".¹³⁸ Against such a teaching Forbes argued that the eucharistic presence and communion, founded upon Christ's word of promise, are not *caused by* the communicant's faith.¹³⁹

It is wrong to teach, Forbes maintained, that Christians eat the body of Christ in the eucharist in no other way than did the Old Testament Fathers, who believed in Christ before the incarnation; they spiritually ate Christ's flesh figured in the manna and in other rites. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church has always believed that there is a communication of Christ in the eucharist by which Christians are incorporated into Christ in a far higher and more solid way than the ancient believers before the incarnation who ate His flesh only

spiritually or by faith alone:

*Sed nihilominus per communicationem carnis Christi in Eucharistia, multo altius et solidus nos Christianos incorporari Christo quam priscos fideles, qui Christi incarnationem praecesserant, qui spiritualiter tantum, sive per solam fidem, carnem Christi manducabant, credidit semper Ecclesia Catholica.*¹⁴⁰

Appealing to the words of the Archbishop of Spalatro, he distinguished the body of Christ spiritually taken in the Old Testament by faith in hope, but not in reality (*non tamen in re ipsa sumebatur sed in spe*), from the eucharistic bread which exhibits the very real body of Christ "in reality", not only in hope (*At vero panis noster, exhibet ipsum Christi corpus reale in re ipsa, et non in spe tantum*).¹⁴¹ Forbes concluded from this teaching of the Archbishop that the paschal lamb, manna, rock, etc. were types and figures of the eucharist, because what they merely signified and figured typically (*quod illa typice significabant et figurabant*), the sacrament exhibits in the very fact (*re ipsa etiam exhibet*).¹⁴² In emphasizing the *difference* between the Old Testament and New Testament manducations of Christ's body, Forbes was going against an idea deeply embedded in the Reformed 'true' presence tradition, as evidenced, for example, by the writings of Hooper, Cranmer, Calvin and Perkins, which affirmed the essential identity of the two.¹⁴³

The second incorrect way of understanding the term "spiritual", according to Forbes, is to interpret it as meaning that the body of Christ is in the sacrament in no other way than it is in the preached word or in baptism. Certainly, he argued, the word, baptism and other sacraments exhibit Christ and His benefits, yet it is also certain that by the "mystical eating and drinking" of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist, the communicant is more sublimely and augustly, or

closely and nearly united and incorporated with the body and blood of Christ than through these other means.¹⁴⁴ Here again, Forbes' ideas differed from those of earlier exponents of the 'true' presence doctrine. Ridley, for example, had written that the body of Christ is not "received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the Gospel, and by faith".¹⁴⁵ Calvin, similarly, had argued that one has κοινωνία with Christ no less through the Gospel than by the eucharist,¹⁴⁶ and that God gives no more by visible signs than by the Gospel.¹⁴⁷

If the reception of Christ's eucharistic body was for Forbes not by faith alone, neither was it by the mouth (*non quidem corporali, et per oralem sumptionem*).¹⁴⁸ In order to understand how he conceived of communion in Christ's body in a positive way, it is necessary to refer to several ideas of the Archbishop of Spalatro which Forbes included in the exposition of his own position. One of these is that apart from faith, which is necessary and which unites one to the flesh of Christ, the object of faith, there is also a spiritual conjunction of the true and real flesh of Christ with the communicant's soul and body (*ponimus conjunctionem quandam spiritualement vere et realis carnis Christi cum anima et corpore etiam nostro*). This is called a sacramental conjunction because it is accomplished through eating. Secondly, this occurs while the bread is being eaten, simultaneously along with it (*simul cum pane*), in a way known to God alone. It was not a corporeal way, but one which is called "spiritual" because it is certain that it cannot be corporeal (*quam spiritualement vocamus, quia certum est, non posse esse corporalem*); the Fathers confessed it as *ineffabilem, inexplicabilem, inexquisitam*. One should be content to believe it by faith. Thirdly, this union is real, sacramental, and in

its manner very different from the mere union by faith (*En haec unio realis, sacramentalis, in modo longe diversa a sola unione fidei*).

The true body of Christ is exhibited and received in the communicant's very body (*corpore ipso nostro nos verum Christi corpus recipere, non sola et pura fide per intellectum solum*). Fourthly, this not accomplished by means of the mouth, but in a way *miraculoso atque abdito*. In the very eating and digesting of the bread and wine, Christ's body is communicated to the communicant's body (*quo in comestione ipsa et concoctione panis et vini verum Christi corpus nostro etiam corpori communicetur*). The manner by which this is accomplished is not revealed even to faith. Fifthly, if "corporeal" implies that the material body of Christ itself (*corpus ipsum Christi materiale*) passes through the mouth into the stomach, the term has to be rejected, since this would be an attempted definition of the manner which is known to God alone. If, on the other hand, "corporeal" means that the worthy communicant receives the *verum Corpus* not only with the intellect and spirit (*non solo intellectu et spiritu*), but also with his body, yet not through the mouth and stomach, this sense is to be admitted. In this case, "corporeal" is not opposed to "spiritual".¹⁴⁹ Thus far the Archbishop of Spalatro developed his teaching, with which Forbes identified in his attempt to explicate the meaning of "spiritual" against both Romanists and "many Protestants".¹⁵⁰

Forbes' teaching on eucharistic communion contained two other significant ideas. First, it is through the power of the Holy Spirit, he claimed, that one is enabled to communicate invisibly in the substance of Christ's body, no less than if one visibly were to eat His flesh: *In Coena enim per admirabilem virtutem Spiritus Sancti, invisibiliter substantiae corporis [et Sanguinis] Christi communicamus,*

*cujus participes efficimur, haud secus ac si visibiliter carnem et sanguinem ejus ederemus et biberemus.*¹⁵¹ This idea was, as we have already seen, an important element in Reformed thinking (supra, p. 27 ff.). Secondly, faith is the presupposition and prerequisite for sacramental manducation. Faith is what obtains the effect of the sacrament,¹⁵² but more than this, it is only to the good and believing that the body of Christ is exhibited (*sed re ipsa etiam exhibet, sed bonis et fidelibus tantum*).¹⁵³ The faith by which, properly speaking, the body of Christ is eaten spiritually in the eucharist is not that which believes that Christ was crucified and died for the sins of the world (this faith, however, is requisite and presupposed). Rather, the specific eucharistic faith is to believe that Christ is present in the sacrament with His life-giving flesh and to desire to receive it. According to Forbes, this is what it means to eat spiritually and rightly the body of Christ in the eucharist.¹⁵⁴

While the above teaching is Forbes' positive exposition of eucharistic communion, it must be pointed out that his attitude toward Roman and Lutheran teaching on *manducatio oralis* and *manducatio impiorum* was very lenient. Without polemics, he referred his readers to *multis Protestantibus aliisque viris moderatis*, who in their writings had dealt not only with the oral/corporeal manducation of Christ's body, but who had also written against the *indignorum seu impiorum manducationem*.¹⁵⁵ Yet, he argued, many Romans and Lutherans had written soberly and moderately about the oral manducation of Christ's body, teaching that when it is received and taken in the sacrament, it is not broken or ground with the teeth, because in the eucharist it cannot be touched, but is immortal and indivisible,
 . . 'non dentibus atteri' seu frangi existimant modestiores omnes, contra

*alios qui crassissime hac de re loquuntur, quia 'Christi Caro in hoc Sacramento tangi nequit, estque immortalis et impartibilis'.*¹⁵⁶ Christ cannot be burned in the sacrament or gnawed by animals, Forbes asserted; although some Romans had written crassly on the subject, he would not have the Romans and Lutherans who had written soberly and modestly on the oral manducation even by the *indignorum* condemned as *Capernaitas, carnivoros, Christicidas* and αἱματοπότας.¹⁵⁷ At this point, Forbes was acting as "ecumenist", encouraging a tolerant attitude toward Roman and Lutheran eucharistic teaching.

In Forbes' doctrine of Christ's presence on the sacrament, then, one finds two strands of thinking intertwined with each other. On the one hand, he stood in the Reformed 'true' presence tradition, affirming that faith is necessary to receive Christ's body in the sacrament and, consequently, denying that the unbelieving receive it and that it is received orally. Yet, he emphasized the *difference* between Christ as communicated in that the body is given not only to faith or the intellect or the spirit, but is also given to man's *body* in an incomprehensible way. These ideas have far more in common with the understanding of eucharistic communion as found in Lutheran, Roman (76). and Orthodox theology (see p. 302, ft.nt./One senses that Forbes regarded the Reformed heritage as saying too little, but did not know exactly how to express in a positive manner what else to affirm. The immediate source of many of his ideas was de Dominis, but the ambivalence in his thinking is not unlike that found in Andrewes' writings, which may also have influenced Forbes, having been published prior to the writing of his treatise. With one foot still in the 'true' presence tradition, Forbes carefully, and only partially, moved toward the 'real' presence teaching. This would, in fact, explain his

ecumenical defence of Romans and Lutherans.

In the early years of William Laud, there is one piece of evidence to suggest that his thinking also was not entirely in accord with the received Anglican tradition. In comments made on a copy of Bellarmine's 1596 *Disputationes* sometime between 1608 and 1621, he expressed himself in such a way as to suggest that the unworthy receive the body of Christ. Bellarmine asserted *contra* the Calvinists that the apostle taught that the unworthy communicants sin because they receive improperly, not because they do *not* receive the body of Christ; the guilt lies in their *reception* of the body, not in *lack of reception*.¹⁵⁸ Against this, Laud argued that the Calvinists also placed the guilt in reception. Their position, he claimed, is that the unworthy do not receive *truly*, not that they do not receive at all. In the writings of St. Augustine, to eat truly is to eat usefully:

*Sed et illi (quantum adhuc video) ponunt crimen in ipsa sumptione, non in omissione sumptionis. Verba sunt, quod non recipiunt vere: non quod non omnino recipiunt. Et apud S. Aug. saepe, vere comedere, et utiliter comedere, idem sunt. Infra Respondo apud, &c. Et Calvin. L.4.c.17. 34 negat valere externam receptionem. Quis unquam dixit valere?*¹⁵⁹

It is unclear in these comments what exactly Laud understood the unworthy communicant to be receiving. It is certain, however, that he wished to deny that they participated in the body of Christ *efficaciously*. Moreover, his words, *non quod non omnino recipiunt*, seem to suggest that they receive not only the bread, but that thing, the unworthy reception of which would bring guilt, i.e., the body. His use of Calvin at this point was very careful, emphasizing the non-efficaciousness of merely external reception, but the section from the *Institution* referred to, contains Calvin's affirmation that the wicked

receive the visible sign, but not the body of Christ.¹⁶⁰ Laud's comments ignore this altogether. Similarly, when Bellarmine asserted that Calvin denied the impious to be capable of truly eating the body of Christ, except *solum sacramento tenus*,¹⁶¹ Laud responded by claiming that Calvin did not say this plainly, but only incidentally and in seeking an interpretation: *Non tamen ita plane Calvin: sed obiter et quaerendo interpretationem, &c.*¹⁶² Here Laud minimized Calvin's rejection of the opinion that the wicked receive the body of Christ. This may be an early "high-church" reconstruction of Calvin's teaching much in the same vein as his later utilization of Calvin in the discussion of a presence "in and at" the sacrament, which we saw earlier (*supra*, p. 208).

Whatever Laud's meaning was in these early notes, his position was clarified by the time of his *Conference with Fisher* in 1639. The English Church, he argued, teaches that ^{/by the} "most blessed Sacrament" the worthy receiver is made "spiritually partaker" of the "true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really", and of all the benefits of His passion.¹⁶³ To illustrate this teaching and to show that Protestants did indeed affirm such a participation, Laud appealed in footnotes to the *Articles of Religion* and to Calvin, Fulke, Hooker and White. The text of article XXVIII cited by Laud affirms that the body of Christ is eaten in the Supper according to a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that the means is faith: *Corpus Christi manducatur in coena, tantum coelesti et spirituali ratione. Medium autem quo corpus Christi accipitur, et manducatur in coena, fides est.*¹⁶⁴ Of the several passages from Calvin appealed to by Laud, one affirms that Christ with all His benefits is offered in the sacrament and is received by faith: *Christus se cum bonis suis omnibus in coena offert,*

et nos fide Eum recipimus.¹⁶⁵ In the text from William Fulke (1538 - 1589) quoted by Laud, it is stated that if the communicant comes unworthily to the eucharist, he is made partaker of the body and blood "after a spiritual manner, by faith on our behalf, and by the working of the Holy Ghost on the behalf of Christ."¹⁶⁶ The section from Book V of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* referred to, but not included by Laud, is that "It is on all sides plainly confessed, first, that this sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, even His whole entire person as a mystical Head into every soul that receiveth Him ..." and "...to us they [the bread and wine] are thereby made such instruments as mystically yet truly, invisibly yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ, as well in that He is man as God".¹⁶⁷ The passage of Frances White (1564?-1638) alluded to by Laud maintains that the eucharist is a "divine instrument and seale authentically, really applying the body and bloud of Christ to every worthy receiver for the remission of sinne, and the impetrating of spirituall and worldly blessing".¹⁶⁸

No man should be troubled at the words, "truly and really", used to describe eucharistic communication, Laud argued, since "that blessed sacrament, received as it ought to be, doth 'truly and really' exhibit and apply the body and blood of Christ to the receiver".¹⁶⁹ While the Archbishop stood within that stream of thinking which emphasized the "realness" of receiving the body of Christ in the sacrament, he also accepted that the means of communion is faith and that it is a "spiritual" participation, as seen above.¹⁷⁰ In a footnote, Laud remarked to his Roman opponent, Fisher, "And say not you the same with us?"¹⁷¹ He then appealed to Roman sources in order

to demonstrate that this spiritual eating by faith was also taught by those theologians acceptable to Rome. First, he cited Cajetan's words which he presented as affirming spiritual manducation as an activity of the soul: *Spiritualis manducatio, quae per animam sit, ad Christi carnem in sacramento pertingit.*¹⁷² He then referred to Thomas Aquinas' description of the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist as *spiritualiter, is est, invisibiliter, et per virtutem Spiritus Sancti,*¹⁷³ and to Tena de Ludovic's statement that spiritual eating was *per fidem et charitatem.*¹⁷⁴ Laud's understanding of reception of the body as an activity of the soul, alluded to in his citation of Cajetan's words, was also expressed in his private devotions. The prayers which he intended to be said before the eucharist include these supplications: "... yet, now, Lord, upon my humble return to Thee, give me, I beseech Thee, the bread of life, the Body and Blood of my Saviour, into my soul ..."; and after communion, "Lord, I have received this Sacrament of the Body and Blood of my dear Saviour. His mercy hath given it, and my faith received it into my soul".¹⁷⁵

Later in life when he wrote his History of the Troubles and Tryal, Laud rejected the accusation made by his enemies that the omission in the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 of the distribution words, "and take this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith, with thanksgiving" and "drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful", implied a "corporal presence". He insisted that neither he nor the Scottish bishops had taught this doctrine, since the "feeding on Christ by faith" was taught in the words of the post-communion prayer, "which have duly received those holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son".¹⁷⁶ Explicitly denying

the charge that he taught a reception of Christ's body by the communicant's body and that he had followers on this point ("sectaries" as the accusation called them),¹⁷⁷ Laud claimed that he did not hold such a teaching:

Among these 'sectaries', which they will needs call mine, they say 'there are, which teach them, that Christ is received in the sacrament, corporaliter, both objective and subjective'. For this opinion, be it whose it will, I for my part do utterly condemn it, as grossly superstitious.¹⁷⁸

The teaching contained in this latter work was consistent with that which he had defended in his Conference with Fisher. Apart from his early comments on Bellarmine's work, Laud's understanding of the sacramental manducation of Christ's body stood solidly in the Reformed 'true' presence tradition of Calvin, the *Thirty Nine Articles of Religion* and the English theologians, which he utilized in his arguments. It was also essentially the same position as that expounded by Montague in the 1620's. It may be that both Montague and Laud carefully kept their language within the boundaries of the received English tradition partly in reaction to some of the ideas of Andrewes, which could easily have been interpreted as treading too closely to the 'real' presence teaching of Roman Catholics or Lutherans.

Taylor, in his 1649 The Great Exemplar, taught that "whatsoever the Spirit can convey to the body of the Church, we may expect from this sacrament; for as the Spirit is the instrument of life and action, so the blood of Christ is the conveyance of His Spirit".¹⁷⁹ This was a theme which we saw in Bishop Andrewes' sermons and which was strongly emphasized in the Orthodox liturgical tradition, which Taylor knew and to which he was attracted, as shown by his revision of the English

liturgy in that direction nine years later in his Collection of Offices.¹⁸⁰

To eat Christ's flesh spiritually, he argued in The Great Exemplar, means that the symbols of bread and wine convey Christ "to the spirit of the receiver".¹⁸¹ If the bread is Christ's body, Taylor wrote, "so it be not affirmed such in a natural sense and manner, it is still only the object of faith and spirit".¹⁸² The sacrament cannot be given with effect to those who are in a state of "spiritual death". To do so, he argued, would be like giving a cordial to a dead man, and would be similar to a fly participating in the eucharist. The outwardly rite would be given and received, but "the grace of the sacrament" would not be communicated.¹⁸³ This last statement might be construed as limiting his denial only to the *benefit* of the sacrament, as distinct from the body itself. This, however, seems unlikely since in the same treatise he maintained that if one neglects to repent before receiving holy communion one would "eat damnation" and Satan would enter into him, "*not Christ*".¹⁸⁴ There are a few expressions in this work which may indicate belief in a bodily eating of Christ's flesh, such as "Christ loves not to enter the mouth full of cursings, oath blasphemous, revilings, or evil speakings ...",¹⁸⁵ implying that Christ *does enter* the mouth of the communicant at other times. In another passage, Taylor taught that Christ "dwells in the body and spirit of every one that eats Christ's flesh and drinks his blood".¹⁸⁶ The sacrament is a "pledge of glory and the earnest of immortality", and the consecrated symbols are like the "seeds of an eternal duration, springing up in us to eternal life, nourishing our spirits with grace".¹⁸⁷

In his 1650 The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living, Taylor limited the reception of Christ's body to those communicants, who if they "eat and drink the consecrated elements *worthily*, they receive Christ

within them".¹⁸⁸ And similarly, "... believe, if thou art a *worthy* communicant, thou dost as verily receive Christ's body and blood to all effects and purposes of the Spirit, as thou dost receive the blessed elements ...".¹⁸⁹ Our bodies, he argued, nourished by the signs, receive "into them the seed of an immortal nature", and our souls, nourished with the mystery, are joined with Christ.¹⁹⁰ This idea that eucharistic communion affects both body and soul was repeated by Taylor in his 1651 The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying and in his Credenda, published as part of the 1655 The Golden Grove.¹⁹¹ Yet in all of these works, it is ambiguous as to whether he means that the body is affected because it is directly joined to Christ's body or because it is joined to the sign of the life-giving body. In one passage of The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living (1650), however, Taylor used language which can legitimately be interpreted to mean that Christ is received into the communicant's body:

When the holy man stands at the table of blessing and ministers the rite of consecration, then do as the angels do, who behold, and love, and wonder that the Son of God should become food to the souls of his servants; that he, who cannot suffer any change or lessening, should be broken int pieces, *and enter into the body to support and nourish the spirit*, and yet descends to thee upon earth ...¹⁹²

This re-echoes some of the ideas in Andrewes' sermons, which speak of an immediate reception of Christ's body by the communicant's body. Taylor approved of these sermons, as seen by his recommendation of them in 1660.¹⁹³

By 1654 when he wrote The Real Presence, Taylor's thinking had reached clarity and precision. The eating of Christ's flesh, he maintained, is a spiritual manducation:

For we speak their [the Fathers'] sense, and in their own words,- the Church of England expressing this mystery frequently in the same form of words;

and we are so certain that to eat Christ's body spiritually is to eat him really, that there is no other way for him to be eaten really, than by spiritual manducation.¹⁹⁴

Christ is received "by faith, by the Spirit, to all real effects of his passion", and the doctrine which opposes or distinguishes "spiritual" manducation of Christ's flesh from "sacramental" or "real" eating of the body is wrong, Taylor argued.¹⁹⁵ Eating Christ in the sacrament is only one way of eating Christ, which can take place outside the sacrament. Christ is the food of souls, and this food is received "in at our ears, mouth, our hearts", but the "allusion is plainer in the sacrament than in any other external rite, because of the similitude of bread, and eating".¹⁹⁶ There is "no eating of Christ's flesh or drinking his blood, but by a moral instrument, faith and subordination to Christ: the sacramental external eating alone being no eating of Christ's flesh, but the symbols and sacraments of it".¹⁹⁷ Put in another way, "Christ's body is eaten only sacramentally by the body, but really and effectively only by faith ...".¹⁹⁸ If the oral eating of Christ's body were true, Taylor argued, the flesh of Christ would descend "into the guts", the stomach, and then would be "cast forth". The alternative to this sort of eating is spiritual manducation: "If we eat Christ's natural body, we eat it either naturally or spiritually: if it be eaten only spiritually, then it is spiritually digested, and is spiritual nourishment, and puts on accidents and affections spiritual".¹⁹⁹ Even the Roman assertion that Christ's body is present in the sacrament "after the manner of a spirit", without bodily proportions and actions, and which cannot be felt, seen, moved, changed or caused to suffer, implied, Taylor argued, that it cannot be eaten bodily. "... it cannot be eaten corporally, any more than a man can chew a spirit, or eat a meditation, or swallow a syllogism into his belly".²⁰⁰

Accordingly, there is no "true and real body of Christ eaten in the sacrament but by the faithful receiver", and the "wicked do but eat the sign of Christ's body".²⁰¹ There can be only two eatings, i.e., the sacramental, or the eating of bread, and the spiritual, or the eating of the body. Hence, there arose the distinction between *panis Dominus* and *panis Domini*. "Judas received 'the bread of the Lord' against the Lord: but the other apostles received 'the bread which was the Lord', that is his body".²⁰² This meant for Taylor that "the wicked do not eat the body, nor drink the blood of Christ".²⁰³

Taylor also articulated in The Real Presence a clear conception of the relationship between body and soul in the reception of benefits, arguing that the unworthy receives benefit neither to soul or body, and that only the worthy communicant receives any benefit to his body, as well as to his soul. This means that the benefit reaches the body *via* the soul, "by the action of the soul, not the action of the body; therefore by faith, not by the mouth". If Christ's natural body were eaten in the sacrament, the benefit would come directly to the body "by its own action", and consequently. to the soul from the body. The "true body of Christ", however, is not corporeally eaten, but is spiritually manducated by the soul.²⁰⁴

Six years later, Taylor repeated many of these ideas in The Worthy Communicant, but in slightly different ways. He used, for example, the language of "word" and "spirit" to describe the body and blood. Since Christ is the "food of our souls", he signified in John 6 this food by appropriate symbols and similitudes of meat and drink. The meaning of His words is that the "flesh of Christ is his word; and blood of Christ is his Spirit"; by believing in His word, and by being "assisted and conducted by his Spirit, we are nourished up to life. Christ, then,

is "our food" and He becomes "life unto our souls". This was the understanding of the early Church, Taylor argued, as taught by St. Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.²⁰⁵ Since the "body or flesh of Christ is his word" and the "blood of Christ is his Spirit in real effect and signification", one is able to distinguish "the blood that he *gave* for us, from the blood which he *gives* to us". To eat and drink Christ meant for Taylor "to live the life of the Spirit, and in the other world it is to live the life of glory".²⁰⁶ One is able to eat the body and drink the blood, i.e., the word and spirit, in or out of the sacrament. The eucharist, he taught, is *verbum visibile*, "the same words read to the eye and to the ear"; it is the Word of God made food " in a manner so near to our understanding, that our tongues and palates feel the metaphor and the sacramental signification". Here Christ's flesh and blood are eaten and drunk "with much eminence and advantage", here the commemoration and exhibition of the death of the incarnate Word is made, here is the "word in symbol and visibility, and special manifestation", for which reason the Fathers called the sacrament, "the extension of the incarnation".²⁰⁷

There were two essential points in Taylor's discussion of the manduction of Christ's body, found in The Worthy Communicant: 1. by whatever means Christ is received outside the sacrament, by the same means He is received in the sacrament, i.e., by faith, and 2. in the eucharist there are two eatings, the sacramental or eating the bread, which is "only an act of obedience" and the spiritual, by which "all the blessings and conjugations of joy" came to the worthy communicant. The spiritual eating is done outside the sacrament "very well, so in it and with it much better".²⁰⁸ It is necessary, therefore, in Taylor's thinking to have faith in order to eat the body of Christ either in or

out of the sacrament.

Because of this eating by faith, Taylor maintained that there is an essential oneness between the object and manner of the Old Testament manducation, i.e., "they fed upon Christ, that is, they believed in Christ, they expected his day, they lived upon his promises, they lived by faith in him", and the object and manner of the New Testament meat and drink, i.e., "Christ the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world".²⁰⁹ To say that faith is necessary for receiving Christ in the eucharist is true in two ways. It means that no unbaptized person should come to the sacrament, and it means that those who are baptized must have "an actual and an operative faith, properly relative to these Divine mysteries, and really effective of all the works of faith".²¹⁰ Moreover, this faith does not mean only believing the articles of the creed, but dedicating oneself, not only offering up the intellect, but the "engaging of our services", not only the "hallowing of one faculty", but the sanctification of the whole man.²¹¹

Taylor at times went so far as to equate believing or faith with eating and drinking: "... thus eating and drinking is faith, it is faith in mystery, and faith in ceremony: it is faith in act, and faith in habit: it is exercised, and it is advanced";²¹² and again, "Christians are spiritual men, faith is their mouth, and wisdom is their food, and believing is manducating ...".²¹³

The Holy Spirit, Taylor taught, is the link between the communicant and Christ in the eucharist. Responding to the rhetorical question of whether sacraments "confer grace by their own excellence and power" or whether this was accomplished by "our moral disposition", Taylor rejected both answers in favour of another. Neither the "external act, nor the internal grace and morality, does effect our pardon and

salvation", but only "the Spirit of God, who blesses the symbols, and assists the duty, makes them holy, and this is acceptable".²¹⁴ The Spirit operates by the sacrament and the communicant receives the grace of the Spirit by faith, this grace being participation in the body and blood of Christ and partaking of His death.²¹⁵ The Holy Spirit is the inner link connecting the earthly elements with the communicant's communion in Christ's flesh and blood:

And thus it is in the greatest as in the least; he that drinks Christ's blood, and eats his body, 'hath life abiding in him': it is true of the sacrament, and true of the spiritual manducation, and may be indifferently affirmed of either, when the other is not excluded; for as the sacrament operates only by virtue of the Spirit of God, so the Spirit ordinarily works by the instrumentality of the sacraments for without the Spirit, the word is but a dead letter; so with the Spirit, the sacrament is the means of life and grace²¹⁷

The implications of this teaching for Taylor were that 1. the unworthy do not eat Christ's body and 2. that there is no oral reception.

If the manducation of Christ's flesh and drinking his blood be spiritual, and done by faith, and is effected by the Spirit, and that this faith signifies an entire dedication of ourselves to Christ, and sanctification of the whole man to the service of Christ, then it follows, that the wicked do not communicate with Christ, they eat not his flesh, and they drink not his blood: they eat and drink indeed; but it is gravel in their teeth, and death in their belly; they eat and drink damnation to themselves.²¹⁷

He adamantly rejected as error the belief that the "natural body and blood of Christ" are "received by the mouth" and that "we tear the natural flesh of Christ with our mouths"; rather, one receives the "word and Spirit of Christ, by faith and a spiritual hand".²¹⁸ The mouth receives the "material signs" or "symbols", while faith eats the "thing signified", the "mystery itself".²¹⁹ Nonetheless, the communicant's body is "made capable of the resurrection to life and

eternal glory" by means of the eucharist, since he is "externally and *symbolically*" united to Christ in the sacrament, and "by faith and the Spirit of God internally" joined to him.²²⁰

With his doctrine of the manducation of Christ's body by faith through the Holy Spirit and with his denials of *manducatio oralis* and *manducatio impiorum*, Taylor stood squarely in the Reformed 'true' presence tradition. Moreover, he explicitly linked the doctrine of the Church of England with that of Calvin. After appealing in The Real Presence to the Catechism of 1604 and the Liturgy as teaching that Christ's body is "verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful" and "really enough", he stated, "... that is our sense of the real presence; and Calvin affirms as much, saying, 'In the supper Christ Jesus, viz. his body and blood, is truly given under the signs of bread and wine'".²²¹ Taylor also cited the medieval theologian Ratramnus as one who had "defended our doctrine against Paschasius" (Radbertus). Arguing that Ratramnus' book, De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, which had been printed in the sixteenth century and which had been positively utilized in certain Protestant circles,²²² was "so entire and dogmatical against the substantial change, which was the new doctrine of Paschasius" that it had been used as evidence that "Calvin's heresy is not new".²²³ Here Taylor linked his doctrine, and that of the Church of England, with the teaching of Calvin by means of Ratramnus.

Taylor also cited the eucharistic teaching of Cyril Loukaris, Patriarch of Constantinople (1620-1638), as being that of the Church of England: "But in Greek Church it [transubstantiation] could not prevail, as appears not only on Cyril's book of late, dogmatically affirming the article in our sense ...".²²⁴ Without question, the book here referred to, Cyril's 1629 Confession of Faith, contains a Reformed

doctrine of the eucharist, expressing belief in a true and real presence, τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ βεβαίαν παρουσίαν, of such a kind that only the faithful can eat the body of Christ, not by means of the teeth, but by the soul realizing communion.²²⁵

The long Reformed 'true' presence tradition, with its many and varied exponents, had undoubtedly influenced Taylor's understanding of sacramental communion. Earlier Caroline divines are included among those whose theology had undoubtedly helped to form Taylor's thinking. This is suggested by his recommendation in 1660 of foundational books for a new library, which included Andrewes' sermons (Taylor, apparently, found nothing "heretical" in them even after he had given up his own earlier notion of an immediate conjunction of Christ's body and the communicant's body.), Montague's A New Gagg for an Old Goose and Laud's Conference with Fisher.²²⁶

Taylor defended one practice regarding holy communion, however, which pushed beyond Reformed eucharistic practice, indeed, beyond Western sacramental practice in general,²²⁷ toward that of the Orthodox East - the communication of infants. In The Worthy Communicant, he argued that there was nothing in Scripture which directly forbade giving the sacrament to infants, and that the commandment to examine oneself before communion was not of itself necessary. Infants without examination can receive "the effect of the eucharist", just as they can receive the "effect of baptism" without repentance.²²⁸ The early Church, he argued, believed the sacraments were "great channels of the grace of God" and that this grace "always descends upon them that do not hinder it, and, therefore, certainly to infants".²²⁹ Certain pre-dispositions for sacraments are required by God, but every commandment of God is fitted to a capable subject. The examination which is

required of the communicant is obligatory when he can see and understand, but not before, while that which is offered on God's part is always ready "to them that can receive it". Infants cannot come alone to Christ, but the Church brings them since those who are "capable of the grace of God" can also receive the sign.²³⁰

If Christ's body is received by faith, how is it possible to communicate infants, one may ask. Taylor, while not dealing with the question directly, nevertheless, gave a certain explanation when he discussed baptism. He stated that the same grace conveyed to infants in one sacrament can also be imparted in another, that as "they can be born again without their own consent, so they can be fed by the hands of others".²³¹ In baptism infants receive "some real dispositions" toward the eucharist, since they have been "drawn from there mere natural state, and lifted up to the adoption of sons".²³² These statements suggest that Taylor understood infants to possess faith, since they have received grace, have not hindered it, and are made sons of God. He was willing to accept the Eastern Orthodox practice of infant communion, yet incorporated it into his Reformed theological perspective. Before the use of reason, however, children cannot sin and cannot fall from the grace of baptism; therefore, it is not necessary for them to receive the eucharist, which is for "reparation and security".²³³ The Church, then has the freedom and power to decide whether or not to communicate infants, the practice being lawful, but not necessary.²³⁴

Refusal to communicate infants, Taylor argued, entered the Church upon an unwarrantable ground, i.e., when the doctrine of transubstantiation arose, the pretence was made that "by puking up the holy symbols by infants the sacrament should be dishonoured".²³⁵ Since the time of Charles the Great, he said, infant communion was omitted in the West,

and the Council of Trent condemned it as unfit, but only the Roman church and "some few others" refused and condemned this "ancient and catholic practice".²³⁶

A similar case to that of infants is that of fools and madmen. Here Taylor applied the rule, "whoever can communicate spiritually, may be admitted to communicate sacramentally". If the fool can so much as "desire to go to God" and "in any degree believe in Christ" and distinguish between good and evil, he may be communicated. If the madman is found to be in a "state of grace" he also may be given the sacrament. Conversely, whoever can "hinder the effect of the sacrament" is not to be admitted unless he does not only not hinder it, but actually disposes himself to receive it.²³⁷ Taylor's willingness to communicate infants, fools and madmen was no denial of his insistence that faith is the means for receiving Christ's body, since infants possess it, fools can attain it, and madmen are able to retain it.

Thorndike taught, as we have already seen (supra, p. 220), a mystical, spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements, brought about by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the bread and wine. In his Epilogue of 1659, he set out his most clearly articulated teaching as to what this means in terms of sacramental communion. The Holy Spirit, who is the cause and means of Christ's presence in the bread and wine, dwells in them as He does in Christ's natural body, Thorndike argued, and it is the Spirit who feeds "them with Christ's Body and Blood, that receive the sacrament of Them with living faith".²³⁸ The Spirit "tendereth" the flesh and blood in turn are the means for conveying the Holy Spirit to the communicants:

Which being supposed, every Christian must of necessity acknowledge, how great and eminent a power the Lord hath trusted His Church with, in

celebrating and giving of the eucharist; when he is convinced to believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ is thereby rendered him, though mystically and as in a sacrament, yet so truly, that the Spirit of Christ is no less really present with it, to enable the souls of all them that receive it with sincere Christianity, than the sacrament is to their bodies; or then the same Spirit is present in the Flesh and Blood of Christ, naturally being in the heavens.²⁴⁰

This idea that the eucharistic body and blood convey the Holy Spirit to the recipient, Thorndike took explicitly from the Eastern Orthodox liturgies.²⁴¹

The condition for receiving the Spirit, however, is that communicants receive Him as "they ought", he argued.²⁴² The consecrated eucharistic gifts become the "instrument of God's Spirit, to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than His Flesh and Blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth".²⁴³ This meant for Thorndike that one is able to receive the Holy Spirit *via* the eucharistic body and blood of Christ when one receives them with "living faith".²⁴⁴

What did this mean in terms of the unworthy or unfaithful communicant receiving Christ's body and blood? In an earlier work, Of Religious Assemblies (1642) Thorndike had answered this question by arguing that bread and wine are deputed to become the body and blood of Christ "to them that receive them *aright* by the appointment of our Lord, executed by the Church".²⁴⁵ In an even clearer passage he stated:

For though no man can receive the body and blood of Christ that is not disposed with a living faith to receive the same, yet on God's part, it is undoubtedly tendered to those that are not so disposed, otherwise how saith the Apostle that those that eat and drink unworthily are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, as not discerning the same?²⁴⁶

In the Epilogue, however, Thorndike used language implying that in some sense the body and blood are received even by the unfaithful.

Referring to St. Paul's warning against unworthy reception (I Cor. 11: 27), he argued that the apostle was not only using a "hyperbole" to indicate a slighting of God's ordinance. Every act by which one renounces Christianity is a crucifying of Christ again, and certainly receiving the eucharist in an unworthy manner is such. "But", Thorndike added, "otherwise it were too cold an expression, to make St. Paul call it [unworthy reception] the crucifying of Christ for that which is common to all sins". To eat and drink damnation to oneself by not discerning the Lord's body implies that the body must be where it is discerned to be, and not made to be there by being discerned as there.²⁴⁷ A little later in the same treatise, Thorndike explicitly raised the question of unworthy communion and the charge which he saw as capable of being raised against his teaching, i.e., how can God sacramentally make the elements to be Christ's body and blood through the operation of the Holy Spirit when those who receive with "dead faith" to their condemnation cannot be said "to eat the Body and Blood of Christ (which only is the act of living faith) without that abatement which the premisses have established; to wit, in the sacrament". Thorndike's response to this question was:

But all this, if the effect of my saying be thoroughly considered, will appear to be no inconvenience. For that the Body and Blood of Christ should be sacramentally present in and under the elements (to be spiritually received of all, that meet it with a living faith, to condemn those for crucifying Christ again, that receive it with a dead faith): can it seem any way inconsequent to the consecration thereof by virtue of the common faith of Christians, professing that which is requisite to make true Christians, whether by a living or a dead faith?²⁴⁸

The reason for unworthy participation in the eucharist, he argued, is precisely because one does not discern the presence which is there; one eats the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, "out of a

profession of Christianity, which spiritually he despiseth":

Rather must we be to seek for a reason, why 'he that eateth this bread and drinketh this cup unworthily', should be 'guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ', as 'not discerning' It; according to St. Paul, I Cor. xi. 27,29: unless we suppose the same sacramentally present, by virtue of that true Christianity, which the Church professing, and celebrating the sacrament, *tendereth it for spiritual nourishment to a living faith, for matter of damnation to a dead faith.* For if the profession of true Christianity be, as of necessity it must be, matter of condemnation to him that professeth it not truly (that is to say, who, professing it, doth not perform it); shall not his assisting the celebration and consecration of the eucharist produce the effect of rendering him condemned by himself (*eating the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament he despiseth*), for not fulfilling what he professeth.²⁴⁹

The sacramental presence of the body and blood, which "tenders" the same spiritually, can therefore be either a blessing or a curse according to the faith with which it meets.²⁵⁰

There is a certain ambiguity in the language used by Thorndike in these passages, and it may be possible to interpret them as implying no more than that the body of Christ is truly *offered* to all communicants (the Reformed position), yet it seems that Dugmore and Stone were correct in concluding that for Thorndike there was some kind of participation in the body of Christ even by the unworthy.²⁵¹ While he taught the spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood to the soul through eating and drinking by living faith,²⁵² Thorndike's understanding of the mystical and spiritual presence in the elements suggests belief that even the unworthy receive the flesh and blood, but to their condemnation.

There is also the question of *manducatio corporalis*. On the one hand, Thorndike referred to the soul being fed with the body and blood, "... that they may become the Body and Blood of Christ, which God by

this sacrament pretends to feed our souls with".²⁵³ The "sacramental nourishment of the soul", he asserted, is "the means of the spiritual nourishment of the soul, as well as the resemblance of it".²⁵⁴ The soul of the communicant receives Christ's Spirit through the sacrament, and consequently, "in and by the Spirit, whatsoever is requisite to enable a Christian to perform his race here or to assure him of his reward in the world to come".²⁵⁵

On the other hand, he claimed that the flesh and blood are also "mystically received by our bodies".²⁵⁶ Because he understood the eucharistic presence to be dependent upon the Church's faith and consecration, he was able to argue: "thou hast a legal presumption, even toward God, that thou receivest the Flesh and Blood of Christ in and with the elements of bread and wine, and shalt receive the same spiritually for the food of thy soul, supposing that thou receivest the same with living faith".²⁵⁷ Here one sees a distinction between reception of the body in and with bread and spiritual reception of the body as food for the soul. Thorndike also maintained that St. Irenaeus, among other Fathers, taught that our flesh is nourished with Christ's body and blood, and because of this, it will rise again.²⁵⁸ This he did, Thorndike claimed, because the body and blood are in the eucharist by virtue of the consecration and not by virtue of the faith of him who receive.²⁵⁹ Thorndike also argued that St. Hilary taught not only that we are united to Christ "by obedience of will but naturally", Hilary's words²⁶⁰ that we dwell in Christ through eating and drinking His flesh and blood would signify nothing:

... did not our bodies, feeding upon the elements, feed upon that which is truly the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament or mystically, not by virtue of our feeding which follows, but by virtue of the consecration which goes before. For this natural union of the body with that which feeds it, serves St. Hilary for the argument of that unity, which the

Son hath with the Father by nature; being the union of our flesh with the Flesh of Christ, by virtue of our flesh united to the Word incarnate.²⁶¹

This bodily reception is useless, however, Thorndike argued, unless the soul has living faith in Christ. Only then can the body of Christ become the "seed of the life of grace both to his soul and body".²⁶²

In teaching some kind of *manducatio corporalis*, Thorndike may have been influenced by Andrewes' sermons, or what is more likely, influenced in this direction by Forbes' Considerationes Modestae, which was published in 1658, the year before the publication of his Epilogue. One must also keep in mind that although there is no positive proof of his direct utilization of Lutheran sacramental theology on this point, Thorndike was familiar with the Lutheran confessional writings and most probably with Chemnitz' Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae. These may also have influenced his thinking with regard to certain aspects of eucharistic communion, such as *manducatio corporalis* and *manductio indignorum*.

As with other aspects of eucharistic doctrine, so in terms of their understanding of communion in Christ's body, the Caroline divines witness to a development in Anglican sacramental thinking during the seventeenth century. One of the essential characteristics of the Reformed 'true' presence doctrine was its insistence that Christ's body is received by faith. Concomittant with this proposition were the denials of *communicatio oralis* and *communicatio impiorum*, developed against both Roman and Lutheran teaching. As we saw in the first chapter, this was the orbit in which sixteenth-century Anglican doctrine had developed.

This inherited tradition was still a very powerful influence in the seventeenth century, but tendencies other than this began to surface. Saravia's unpublished De Sacra Eucharistia was the most explicitly "Lutheranizing". Andrewes' writings and sermons contain ideas from both the 'true' presence and 'real' presence traditions. It may be that Montague in his 1624 and 1625 works and Laud in his 1639 Conference with Fisher were distancing themselves from some of the 'real' presence ideas which Andrewes had publicly expressed. With the exception of some early private notations which he made on Bellarmine's work, Laud, together with Montague, expressed his understanding of sacramental communion within the parameters of the Reformed 'true' presence tradition. Quite differently, Cosin's early thinking, as it found expression in his first series of notes on the Prayer Book, written during the 1620's and 30's (N.B. - private comments, not a published work), was influenced by Roman Catholic ideas. He, however, also veered toward the Reformed stream of thinking, already in the late 1620's. During the early 1630's, Forbes struggled to articulate a doctrine which would include reception of Christ's body by both the soul and body of the communicant, but which would include less that reception with the mouth, and by the unbelieving. He was deeply indebted to Archbishop de Dominis in this matter. Taylor's teaching during the 1640's, 50's and 60's was predominantly within the 'true' presence tradition; at times, however, he seemed to imply that the communicant's body, as well as his soul, receives Christ's body. Moreover, he defended the Eastern Orthodox practice of infant communion. In the late 1650's, Thorndike, in a very unpolemical and careful manner, defended a mystical reception of Christ's body by the communicant's body as well as *manducatio indignorum*, although in an

earlier work he had denied the latter.

The ways in which the Caroline divines dealt with the question of eucharistic communion reflect a great deal of variation in their thought. This can partly be explained by the fact that sometimes their works remained unpublished in the seventeenth century, and consequently were not able to influence the thinking of other divines. This was the case with the most explicit departures from the Reformed 'true' presence doctrine, Saravia's De Sacra Eucharistia and Cosin's notes on the Prayer Book. Nonetheless, one is still left with a marked impression that the Caroline theologians were creative and independently-minded in their use of sources and in how they integrated various ideas in their expositions of sacramental communion in Christ's body.

This variety of thought witnesses to a weakening in seventeenth-century Anglican theology of the belief that Christ's body is eaten only by Faith, a belief which was the touchstone of the Reformed 'true' presence teaching which they had inherited from the previous century. This is not to suggest, however, that the tendencies in other directions dominated their thinking; only with Saravia, and less so, with Thorn-dike was this the case. The influence of the Reformed position remained strong, and this is what one might have expected, since it had been enshrined in the Thirty Nine Articles of Religion and in the English Book of Common Prayer.

FOOTNOTES

¹No distinction will be made between *manduction impiorum* and *manductio indignorum*.

²De Sacra Eucharistia p. 86.

³*Dividit, aut potius dissolvit, Sacramentum quia signa externa sine illis Rebus, significatis, quae necessaria pars sunt Sacramenti, percipi posse credit: externa enim symbola sunt tantum Sacramenti altera pars. Ibid., p. 88.*

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Saravia interchangeably used impiis and hypocritis.*

⁶*Ibid., p. 90.*

⁷*Unde bene sequitur, totum Sacramentum aequè recipi ab hypocritis, sicut a piis; adeo aut ut qui partem Sacramentu visibilem accipit, accipiat similiter invisibilem, unde totum Sacramentum constituitur. De Sacra Eucharistia, pp. 90. 92.*

⁸*Illis enim verbis luce clarius est Dominum non fuisse loquutum de Sacramentali manducatione, sed de illa quae fit per fidem; nisi quis contendat Sacramentaliter non posse Carnem Domini manducari et Sanguinem potari nisi ab eo qui etiam fide et Spiritualiter id faciat; quod falsum est. Ibid., p. 94*

⁹*Ibid., pp. 174, 176.*

¹⁰*St. Augustine's words are: Non est ex eis qui panem illius sic edebat, ut super eum levaret calcaneum. Illi manducabant panem Domini, ille panem Domini contra Dominum: illi vitam, ille poenam. PL, 35: 1796 (In Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus LIX).*

¹¹*De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 116.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Quae cum libera sit [i.e. the virtue] non raro tantum sacramentum percipitur absque sacramentali gratia, quae fidei communicantium sacramentis respondet. Ibid., p. 26.*

¹⁴*Ibid., p. 108.*

¹⁵*Ibid., pp. 78, 80.*

¹⁶*Ibid., p. 98.*

¹⁷*.... et in Coena Domini quod alii Spiritualiter et per fidem edant et bibant, alii ore corporeo tantum, sine fide. Ibid., p. 168.*

¹⁸*Ibid., pp. 172, 174.*

¹⁹*Ibid., p. 96. Arguing on the basis of St. Augustine, Saravia wrote, Deinde, verba Domini quae locutus est Capernaum, John. sexto, modum edendi Carnem et bibendi Sanguinem Domini, quem in Sacramento diximus, non tangere, sed Spiritualem illum per vivam fidem, quo fit ut quis in Christo maneat, et Christum habeat in se manentem.*

²⁰*Ibid., p. 94.*

²¹Ibid., p. 104.

²²Ibid., p. 184.

²³Ibid., p. 164.

²⁴*De Fructu et Gratia huius Sacramenti, cuius pii tantum sunt participes, non ex opere operato, ut argutantur. Scholastici, sed virtute fidei quae quo major est in Mysteriorum celebratione, amplior quoque Gratia percipitur, mihi nunc disserendum est. Ibid.*, p. 152.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 156, 158.

²⁶*Male solius animae Spiritualis cibus esse Christi Caro disputatur, quae est totius hominis, hoc est, animae pariter et corporis Non enim aliunde quam a Domini Carne corporum nostrorum felix immortalitas manabit. Ibid.*, p. 158.

²⁷Ibid., p. 162.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., p. 164.

³⁰Ibid., p. 166.

³¹Ibid., p. 152.

³²Ibid., p. 172.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 166, 168.

³⁵Ibid., p. 98.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 34, 174.

³⁷Ibid., p. 98.

³⁸*Quare, sicut Paulus dicit, etiam indignos Sacramentum manducare, ita sentiunt etiam indignis Vere exhiberi Corpus et Sanguinem Christi, et indignos Vere accipere, cum Institutio et Mandatum Christi Domini servantur. Ibid.*, p. 122. See also, CR, 3: 75. For Saravia's assent, see De Sacra Eucharistia, pp. 124, 126, where he urged that eucharistic doctrine be tested by the 1536 Concord and that those who opposed that agreement be regarded as schismatics.

³⁹In Evangelium Secundum Iohannem, pp. 44-45. See also, The Gospel According to St. John 1-10, ed., T. F. Torrance, trans., D. W. Torrance. Calvin's Commentaries (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1959), pp. 170-71.

⁴⁰Institution, 4: 17: 34.

⁴¹Ibid., 4: 17: 33.

⁴²Ibid., 4: 17: 34.

⁴³De Sacra Eucharistia, pp. 22-26, 108, 152.

⁴⁴*Primum, virtutem sacramenti opponit [Augustinus] visibili sacramento: antitheta facit manducare intus et foris: manducare corde et premere dentibus. Si qua esset invisibilis manducatio corporis a spirituali diversa, trimembris ponenda erat definitio. CR, 37: 503 (Dilucidia Explicatio).*

⁴⁵Supra., p. 61, ft. nt. 90; see also, Scripta Angelicana, pp. 666-67 (Articuli, sive Formula Praemissae Concordiae cum Explicatione D. Martini Bucerii Interposita).

⁴⁶De Sacra Eucharistia, pp. 128, 130. See also Martin Bucer, In Sacra Quatuor Evangelia Enarratione Perpetuae ([Geneva]: Oliva Roberti Stephani, 1553), p. VI (preface). [Emphasis is mine]

⁴⁷WA, 23: 191.

⁴⁸WA, 26: 490-91.

⁴⁹Fundamenta, pp. 19-22; The Lord's Supper, pp. 57-64.

⁵⁰Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 941.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 993.

⁵²WA, 23: 203 (Dass diese Wort Christi).

⁵³Ibid., pp. 243, 245.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 181, 183.

⁵⁵Fundamenta, p. 20; The Lord's Supper, pp. 60-61. The *Konkordienformel* had asserted that all communicants receive *den wahren Leib und Blut Christi mündlich im Sakrament*. Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 991.

⁵⁶Fundamenta, p. 62; The Lord's Supper, pp. 163-64.

⁵⁷Fundamenta, pp. 64-65; The Lord's Supper, pp. 169-70.

⁵⁸Given this teaching of eucharistic communion by Saravia, it is difficult to understand Nijenhuis' claim that despite Saravia's "esteem for the Augsburg Confession, it is difficult to point to many Lutheran influences in him", and his statement that Saravia's "combination of the 'praesentia realis' with the 'manducatio spiritualis' is quite close to Calvin's eucharistic teaching". Adrianus Saravia, pp. 199-200.

⁵⁹Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, pp. 395-96; Cochrane, Reformed Confessions, pp. 215-16.

⁶⁰Supra, pp. 45-46 for the Articles of Religion. It is again difficult to understand Nijenhuis' claim that "This [the declaration of the Articles of Religion on reception of Christ's body only after an heavenly and spiritual manner by faith] agrees with what Saravia

taught about the 'manducatio spiritualis'". (Adrianus Saravia, p.200). That the Tractarian, G. A. Denison found Saravia's theology so supportive of his own that he translated De Sacra Eucharistia in the nineteenth century is more understandable. Denison argued that Saravia accepted *manducatio indignorum* as an "integral portion of the Doctrine of the Real Presence". De Sacra Eucharistia, p. vi. Nijenhuis was correct, however, in pointing out the ways in which Saravia differed from both Jewel and Hooker. Adrianus Saravia, pp. 200-202.

⁶¹Works, 5: 67.

⁶²Works, 3: 145.

⁶³Ibid., p. 81.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 60, see also 1: 16-17 (Christmas sermon, 1605).

⁶⁵Ibid., 3: 102.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 103.

⁶⁷Luther, e.g., in his 1527 Das diese Wort Christi said that it is the *geistlich fleisch* of Christ which imparts the Holy Spirit in the sacrament. WA, 23: 205. Calvin in his Petit Tracté simply assumed there was no controversy about the Spirit's reception in the eucharist. CR, 33: 438. Chemnitz in his Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae argued that the Spirit is received upon the bodily whim between the communicant and Christ's flesh. Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, p. 63; The Lord's Supper, p. 166.

⁶⁸Greek Liturgies, p. 131.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 135.

⁷⁰See, Works, Preces Privatae (hereinafter abbreviated as PP): 16-69.

⁷¹The 1560 Paris edition, ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ, is the one which Andrewes probably possessed, and which is still in Pembroke College Library. See, Chambers, "A Catalogue of Andrewes' Library", p. 113.

⁷²Works, 1: 43.

⁷³Ibid., 2: 326-27.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 367.

⁷⁵Ibid., 3: 347.

⁷⁶The student is here using 'real' presence tradition (as distinct from the specific medieval 'realist' school of philosophy which influenced medieval Catholic thinking) to include Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Lutherans, all of whom taught that Christ's body is received by the communicant's body. We have already looked at this belief in reference to sixteenth-century Lutherans (supra, pp. 15, 50). For Roman teaching as expressed by Cardinal du Perron, see p. 259. One Byzantine theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas (1322-1387?) expressed the oral reception of Christ's body like this: ... δῆλον γάρ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ταύτη καλούμεθα τῇ φωνῇ καθ' ὃ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ χερσὶ λαμβάνομεν ἀληθῶς καὶ στόματι δεχόμεθα καὶ ψυχῇ συμμίγνυμεν καὶ σώματι

συνάπτομεν καὶ κερνώμεν αἵματι, καὶ πρόσσεσι το δικαίως.
 PG, 150: 601 (*De Vita in Christo*, lib. 4). See also, Nicholas
 Cabasilas, *The Life in Christ*, trans. C. J. de Catanzaro, intro., B.
 Bobrinskoy (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), p.
 129.

⁷⁷*Works*, 3: 35-39.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 1: 282 (Christmas sermon).

⁸¹*Ibid.*, pp. 241; ... ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου σου
 καὶ ἀειπαρθένου μητρός, ἀκατάκριτόν με διατήρησον δέξασθαι
 τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἀχραντον σῶμά σου εἰς ἱασιν ψυχῆς καὶ
 σώματος. (Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.) *Greek Liturgies*, p.
 140.

⁸²*Works*, MW: 17 (*Stricterae*).

⁸³*Replique à la Response*, pp. 780-81.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 788.

⁸⁵"A Protestant Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence", *Calvin
 Theological Journal* 10 (November 1975): 174. For references to Cranmer
 and Jewel, *supra*, pp. 32, 40, 41. Calvin, in his 1545
Catechismus, had similarly taught an ascension to heaven in order to
 receive Christ's body and blood. *Quin potius ita sentio, ut veritate
 potiamur signorum, erigendas esse in coelum mentes, ubi Christus est, et
 unde eum exspectamus iudicemet redemptorem...* CR, 34: 130.

⁸⁶*Works*, 5: 131-32.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁸⁹*Disputationem*, 1: 140-42.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁹¹Stanwood, *A Collection*, p. 229 (verse 3).

⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 352-53 for the Latin text of verses 2, 5 and 6 of
 Aquinas' hymn and for a short discussion of the translations and
 adaptation.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁹⁴*Correspondence*, 1: 244.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 254-55, 258.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 240-41.

⁹⁸Cuming, The Durham Book, p. 166.

⁹⁹Works, 4: 66.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 37. ... *sed quae, quod ad Deum promittentem & offerentem attinet, rem ipsam semper vere & certo coniunctam habent, sive fidelibus sive infidelibus proponantur.* From the 1557 *Confessio Gallicanae et Helveticae Ecclesiae* in Goldast, Politica Imperialia, p. 1306.

¹⁰¹*Mais c'est autre chose, que la chair de Iesus Christ nous soit offerte, ou que nous la recevions. Iesus Christ nous présente à tous ce boire et manger spirituel; les uns s'en repaissent en grand appétit, les autres le desdaignent comme gens desgoustez.* Institution, 4:17:33.

¹⁰²... *quando in Eucharistia nobis dantur panis et vinum, simul et eodem tempore dantur etiam Corpus et Sanguis Domini...* Works, 4: 98.

¹⁰³*Resp. Nempe, ad presbyterorum preces et benedictiones, panis communis factus est panis sacramentalis; qui, quando frangitur et manducatur, novum Corpus Christi est, adeoque sacramentaliter Corpus Christi recte dicitur...* Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁰⁴*Panis quem frangimus est novum Corpus Christi, - id est, exhibitio Corporis Christi, qua fideles ejusdem Corporis participes fiunt.* Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 45. See also, PL, 35: 1602 (*In Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus XXV, cap. VI*).

¹⁰⁶Works, 4: 45-46.

¹⁰⁷The treatise is found in the volume, Ioannii Calvini Tractatus Theologici Omnes (Geneva: Iacobi Stoer, 1611) which is still in Cosin's library at Durham.

¹⁰⁸CR, 37: 467. Similarly, in his Institution, 4:17:10, (the Latin edition of which Cosin had in his own library before 1645 [it has the Peterhouse pressmark]) Calvin argued that Christ's body, properly speaking, is separated from the communicant by a great distance; nevertheless, it becomes his food by the secret power of the Holy Spirit (*la vertu secrete du Saint Esprit*).

¹⁰⁹Works, 4: 59.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 49. See also, p. 123.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 18. See also, p. 114.

¹¹⁴*Interim tamen symbola, quae suo modo et sunt et dicuntur Corpus et Sanguis Christi, ita corporibus nostris nutrimentum et augmentum suppeditant per res terrenas, ut etiam propter res ipsas coelestes, quae mediantibus terrenis a fidelibus percipiuntur, corpora nostra idonea reddunt ad beatam resurrectionem et immortalitatis gloriam.* Ibid., p. 60.

¹¹⁵*Ut in summam colligamus quae dixisti: duas in coena res esse asseris: nempe, panem et vinum, quae oculis cernuntur, attrectantur manibus, percipiuntur gustu: deinde Christum, quo interior animae nostra, tanquam proprio suo alimento, pascuntur. Puer. Verum, et eo quidem usque, ut corporum etiam resurrectio illic nobis, quasi dato pignore, confirmetur: quum et ipsa vitae symbola communicent.* CR, 34: 130 (*Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis*, 1545).

¹¹⁶In the Institution, Calvin taught that faith is the means by which Christ's body is received (4:17:5), and that it is the communicant's soul which is nourished with the body and blood (4:17:10). There is, he argued, no "sacramental" manducation of Christ's flesh apart from faith and distinct from spiritual eating (4:17:33). See also his Petit Traicté (CR, 33: 438-39). In his Dilucidia Explicatio, Calvin insisted that the flesh of the communicant is nourished by Christ's flesh only by the perpetual union of the believer with Christ through faith (ibid., 37: 492-93), which means that there is an *indirect* relationship between the communicant's body and Christ's body *via* the soul.

¹¹⁷Stone, Doctrine of the Eucharist, 2: 323; Works, 4: 18-42. Interestingly, Cosin included the Lutheran Augustana and Saxon Confession in his list of those confessions which showed that all Protestants believed in a true, but not carnal, presence. One can only wonder if Cosin saw no difference between the teaching of these confessions and that of the Reformed confessions which he included.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 30-31.

¹¹⁹*Praesentiam credimus, et conjunctionem Christi cum anima, atque cum corpore nostro; quam melius vocare non possumus quam sacramentalem, hoc est, quae per viam comestionis fiat; ita ut, dum panem sacratum comedimus et vinum sanctificatum bibimus, simul cum eis Ipsum Corpus et Sanguinem Christi edamus et bibamus, non via aut modo corporali, sed alio incomprehensibili, et soli Deo noto, quem spirituales vocamus...* Ibid., p. 45.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 27.

¹²¹Eucharistic Doctrine in England, pp. 51, 68.

¹²²In his Durham Book, for example, he directed that the priest communicating himself should say, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for mee, preserve my Body & Soule unto everlasting life. Amen. I take & eat this in remembrance that Christ dyed for me, & feed on Him in my heart by faith with Thanksgiving". (The Durham Book, pp.

170, 172). In an undated work, A Paper Concerning the Differences in the Chief Points, he cited as a point of agreement with the Roman Church the following: "In acknowledging His sacramental, spiritual, true and real Presence there to the soules of all them that come faithfully and devoutly to receive Him according to His own institution in that holy Sacrament". Works, 4: 336.

¹²³ A New Gagg for an Old Goose, p. 251.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 250.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. [D2(V)], Preface.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 251.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 267.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. [D2(V)], Preface.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. [D3(R)], Preface.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. [D3(V)], Preface.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Appello Caesarem, p. 297.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

¹³⁵ Hardwick, A History of the Articles, pp. 331, 333.

¹³⁶ Here Forbes was quoting the words of Archbishop de Dominis in his renunciation of sacramental "fideism". Considerationes, 2: 412; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 2: 230. This is reminiscent of Bishop Cheyney's (1513-1578) objection to the use of the adverb "only" in article 28 of the 1563 Articles: "Edmund Gheast, Bishop of Rochester, to Cecill. Is sorry for his ill health. Supposes he has heard of the Bishop of Gloucester's objection to the adverb 'only' being placed in the article respecting the Holy Sacrament". (22 December, 1566.) Robert Lemon, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reigns of Edward VI, Elizabeth 1546-1580 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1850), p. 284.

¹³⁷ Considerationes, 2: 416.

¹³⁸ Works, p. 710.

¹³⁹ Considerationes, 2: 416.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 416.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 418; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 2: 132-33.

¹⁴² Considerationes, 2: 418.

¹⁴³Supra, p. 41. See also, Hooper, Early Writings, pp. 126-27; Cranmer, Writings and Disputations, pp. 75-76; Calvin, CR, 37: 479-80 (Dilucidia Explicatio). (Calvin asserted the superiority in terms of clarity of the New Testament sacraments over those of the Old, but he acknowledged that the Old Testament people possessed the reality of those things which Christ exhibits more fully, clearer and perfectly in the Church.); Perkins, A Reformed Catholike in Works, pp. 710-11.

¹⁴⁴*Sed non minus certum est, per manducationem mysticam corporis Domini et potum ejus sanguinis in Eucharistia nos multo efficacius et plenius, sublimius et augustius, strictius et artius corpori et sanguini Christi uniri et incorporari quam per illa.* Ibid., p. 420. Forbes liked the words of Issac Casaubon, '*Quam ob causam hoc sacramentum dicitur per excellentiam communio,.... quia scilicet 'hunc modum' per manducationem mysticam 'Christus instituit longe efficacissimum perficiendae unionis' et conjunctionis 'quam arctissimae inter sese et membra sua, itemque membrorum ipsorum inter se'.* Ibid. See also, Issaci Casauboni De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI ad Cardinalis Baronii (London: Joan. Billum., 1614), p. 508.

¹⁴⁵Works, p. 222 (Disputation at Oxford),

¹⁴⁶*Adde quod non minus evangelii fructus est quam coena (teste Paulo 1 Cor. 1, 9) Christi νοιωνία.* CR, 37: 479-80 (Dilucidia Explicatio).

¹⁴⁷*Ut nihil respondeat, plane liquida est solutio: Deum non plus dare visibilibus symbolis quam verbo, sed aliter: quia nostra imbecillitas pluribus adminiculis indiget... Quod extra coenam per evangelium nobis offertur, in coena nobis obsignari: itaque Christi communicacionem non minus vere nobis conferri per evangelium quam per coenam.* Ibid., p. 481. It should be noted that at one point in his argument, Forbes applauded Calvin as having taught against Zwingli that one should distinguish between eating and believing. Considerationes, 2: 386. See also, Institution, 4:17:5.

¹⁴⁸Considerationes, 2: 388.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 412-16; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 2: 230, 235-36.

¹⁵⁰That Forbes accepted the teaching of the Archbishop as his own is clear from his words, ... et 'ad' mysticam 'manducationem verum Christi corpus', non tantum animae sed etiam 'corpori nostro, spiritualiter tamen, hoc est, non corporaliter, exhibetur; et sane alio ac diverso, nobisque propinquiori modo, licet occulto, quam per solam fidem:' ut recte Archiepiscopus Spalatenis. Considerationes, 2: 420. See also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 2: 237.

¹⁵¹Considerationes, 2: 420.

¹⁵²*Promissio hujus praesentiae et communicationis effectum quidem maxime salutarem non operatur neque obtinet, nisi in fide viva credentibus, et digne communicantibus...* Ibid., p. 416.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 418.

¹⁵⁴*Credere enim, Christum ibi esse praesentem, etiam carne vivificatrice, et desiderare eum sumere, nimirum hoc est spiritualiter et recte eum manducare in Eucharistia...* Ibid., p. 422.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 502. Forbes cited the sixteenth-century Bishop Poynt of Winchester as one example of these moderate Protestants, appealing to his *Diallectici de Veritate Corporis Christi in Eucharistia* as offering a solution to the question of unworthy reception by distinguishing between the nature of the sacrament itself and participation in its grace and holiness. Forbes apparently did not understand this as allowing for a reception of the body of Christ by the wicked, since he explicitly rejected this opinion. For Poynt's teaching, see, *Dialecticon Viri Boni et Literati, de Veritate, Natura, Atque Substantia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* (London: B. Griffin & Sam. Keble, 1687), pp. 77-78.

¹⁵⁶Considerationes, 2: 502.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 504.

¹⁵⁸*Jam altera causa, quam a erunt adversarii, cur Paulus reprehendat indigne sumentes Eucharistiam, quod videlicet illi non recipiant vere corpus Domini, quod sacra symbola illis offerunt, nihil habet probabilitatis. Nam apostolus non dicit eos peccare, quod non recipiant, sed quod recipiant indigne: ubi crimen ponit in ipsa sumptione, non in omissione sumptionis.* Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 49.

¹⁵⁹Works, 6 (Part 2): 652.

¹⁶⁰*Il [Augustine] restreind aussi bien en ce passage, comme cy dessus, au signe visible ce que les incrédules reçoivent, et prononce que Iesus Christ ne peut estre receu que par foy. Autant en dit-il ailleurs: c'est que tant les bons que les mauvais communiquent aux signes, et exclud les incrédules de la vraye communication de la chair de Christ...* Institution, 4:17:34.

¹⁶¹*Sed urget Calvinus alium locum ex lib. xii. Civitat. cap. 25, ubi Augustinus refert quorundam opinionem, qui putabant impios quoscumque salvandos esse, modo non in sacramento solum, sed reipsa comedissent corpus Christi: refellit autem eam opinionem, atque affirmat, impios non posse dici vere comedere corpus Christi, sed solum sacramenta tenus.* Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 51.

¹⁶²Works, 6 (Part 2): 650.

¹⁶³Works, 2: 320-21.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 320, ft.nt. r. (the 1563 edition). See also, Hardwick, A History of the Articles, p. 329.

¹⁶⁵"These words (as every man may see plainly) make nothing for adoration of the sacrament, but for spirituall reverence to be given Christ, of them that come to receive the Sacrament, by which we are

assured (if we come worthily) that we are made partakers of the very body and blood of Christ, after a spiritual manner, by faith on our behalfe, and by the working of the holy Ghost, on the behalfe of Christ." William Fulke, The Text of the New Testament, 4th ed. (London: A. Matthews, 1633), p. 526.

¹⁶⁶Works, 2: 320, ft.nt. r (Conference with Fisher). The French text of this passage is: *Ce qui se fait quand le Seigneur Iesus s'offre à nous avec tous ses biens. Premièrement par l'Evangile; mais plus clairement en la Cène et que nous le recevons en vraye foy.* Institution, 4:17:5. For other citations from Calvin, see Laud, Works, 2: 321, ft.nt. s.

¹⁶⁷Hooker, Works, (Book 5), 2:67:7, ll. See also, Laud, Works, 2: 320-21, ft.nt. r.

¹⁶⁸Francis White, The Orthodox Faith and Way to the Church Explained and Justified, 2nd. ed. (London: John Haviland for William Barret, 1624), p. 157. See also, Laud, Works, 2: 231, ft.nt. s.

¹⁶⁹Works, 2: 321, ft.nt. s (Conference with Fisher).

¹⁷⁰Supra, p. 277.

¹⁷¹Works, 2: 321, ft.nt. r.

¹⁷²Ibid. Cajetan's words are: *Et hoc dictum manducatio corporalis non masticat Christi corpus, quamvis conterat sacramentales species corpus Christi, sub quibus continetur vera caro Christi: sed, spiritualis manducatio, quae per animam fit, ad Christi carnem, in sacramento existentem pertingit.* See, Opuscula Omnia Thomae de Vio Caietani Cardinalis (Lugduni: Apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae, 1562), 2: 143-44 (Tract II, De Eucharistia, cap. 5).

¹⁷³Works, 2: 321, ft.nt. r. The passage in the Summa Theologiae from which these words were taken, deal with Thomas' discussion of St. Augustine's statement that it is not the visible body of Christ which is eaten in the sacrament. Thomas argued that the Augustinian assertion did not exclude the *veritatem* of Christ's body, but only a particular *species* of it, and that the body was present invisibly and by the power of the Spirit. ST, 3a.75.1.

¹⁷⁴Works, 2: 321, ft.nt. r. The words of Ludovico Tena are: *Unde, Salmero hic bene ait: 'A typo vero probat eos, qui manent in Judaicis ritibus, non posse Christum manducare, nam spiritualiter manducandus est per fidem et charitatem, ut utilis sit esus ad salutem: ... See, Commentaria et Disputationes in Epistolam D. Pauli ad Hebraeos (Toledo: Regio Petro Rodriguez, 1611), p. 1196.*

¹⁷⁵Works, 3: 74-75 (A Summarie of Devotions, Compiled and Used by Dr. William Laud, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, published in 1667).

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 3: 355-56 (History of the Troubles); Liturgiae Britannicae, p. 219.

¹⁷⁷For a text of the accusation, see, Works, 3: 357, and William Prynne, Canterburies Doome (London: John Macock for Michael Spark, 1646), p. 35.

¹⁷⁸Works, 3: 357.

¹⁷⁹Works, 3: 300.

¹⁸⁰For a discussion of Taylor's eucharistic liturgy, see Porter, Jeremy Taylor, pp. 71-82. Porter writes that "Andrewes had been powerfully attracted by the Eastern liturgies and his influence is certainly to be discerned in the background of Taylor's rite". (p. 77) Certainly, Taylor was familiar with the Orthodox liturgies before 1658 when his Collection of Offices was published. See, e.g., his 1649 Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy (Works, 7: 293-95).

¹⁸¹Works, 3: 294.

¹⁸²Ibid., pp. 292-93.

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 304.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 308 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 303.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 298.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., p. 299.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., 4: 266 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 271 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 273.

¹⁹¹The "symbols and great consignations of the resurrection" are received into the dying bodies of the sick, and the "pledges of immortality" are received into their souls (The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying). Ibid., p. 530. The communicant's soul is "nourished by the body and blood of Christ" and his body is "sealed to a blessed resurrection and to immortality" (Credenda). Ibid., 15:18.

¹⁹²Ibid., p. 270.

¹⁹³Works (Heber-Eden edition), 1: lxxxix.

¹⁹⁴Works, 10: 61.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 9: 432.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 452.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 456.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 500.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 503-504.

²⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 447-48.

²⁰¹Ibid., pp. 496-97.

²⁰²Ibid., pp. 497-98.

²⁰³Ibid., p. 495.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 15: 413.

²⁰⁶Ibid., p. 415 [emphasis is mine].

²⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 419-20.

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 420.

²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 416.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 499.

²¹¹Ibid., p. 533.

²¹²Ibid., p. 419.

²¹³Ibid., p. 420.

²¹⁴Ibid., pp. 424-25.

²¹⁵Ibid., pp. 425, 428.

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 429.

²¹⁷Ibid., p. 533. See also, p. 411.

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 421.

²¹⁹Ibid., p. 435.

²²⁰Ibid., p. 441 [emphasis is mine].

²²¹Ibid., 9: 424-25.

²²²The work was composed by Ratramnus most probably in 844 or shortly thereafter. In 1050 it was condemned at the Synod of Vercelli along with Berengarius' teaching. The work seems to have been lost during much of the middle ages. In 1531, it was printed in Cologne by John Prael, and the next year a German version had been prepared at Zurich by Leo Judä, and a copy of this was sent by Bullinger to the Margrave of Brandenburg. The book featured in the eucharistic

controversy between Peter Martyr and Bishop Stephen Gardiner of Winchester, and it was appealed to by Ridley at his 1555 trial at Oxford. Four years later the work was condemned by the Council of Trent as an heretical work of Scotus Eriugena. Early Medieval Theology, trans. & ed., George E. McCracken, vol. 9 in The Library of Christian Classics (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1957), pp. 112-16.

²²³Works, 10: 97. It is hardly surprising, then, that, in his 1660 letter concerning the making of a library, Taylor recommended books by Reformed continental divines, even specifically on the sacraments (supra, p. 215).

²²⁴Ibid., 9: cccxii (Dedicatory epistle). Loukaris had cultivated the Protestant churches of the West, exchanging letters, gifts and emissaries with both King Charles I of England and Archbishop Laud. See Hugh Trevor-Roper's article, "The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I" in Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian, vol. 15 of Studies in Church History, ed., Derek Baker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), pp. 213 ff.

²²⁵... πλὴν ἦν ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν παρίστησι καὶ προσφέρει, οὐχ ἦν ἡ ἐφευρεθεῖσα εἰκὴ διδάσκει μετουσίωσις. Πιστεύομεν γὰρ τοὺς πιστοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσθίειν, οὐκ αἰσθητῶς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τρύχοντας καὶ ἀναλύοντας τὴν μετάληψιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθήσει κοινωνοῦντας. Τὸ γὰρ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου οὐκ ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁράται τε καὶ λαμβάνεται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πνευματικῶς ἡ πίστις λαβοῦσα ἡμῶν παριστάνει τε καὶ χαρίζειται. "Ὅθεν ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν, ἐσθίειν ἡμᾶς καὶ μετέχειν καὶ κοινωνοὺς εἶναι, ἐὰν πιστεύοιμεν, ἐὰν οὐ πιστεύοιμεν, παντὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ μυστηρίου κέρρους ἀφίστασθαι. Das Bekenntnis des Cyrill Lukaris, Κεφάλαιον 17. Jon Michalcescu, ed., Die Bekenntnisse und die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der Griechisch-orientalischen Kirche (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1904), p. 273. For an English translation, see, Stone, The Doctrine of the Eucharist, 1: 175-87. Also, supra, p. 178, ft.nt. 202.

²²⁶Works, 1: lxxxiv (Heber-Eden edition).

²²⁷For a discussion of the various Protestant practices with regard to initiation and reception of communion, see, C. Jones, G. Wainwright & E. Yarnold, ed., The Study of the Liturgy (London: SPCK, 1978), pp. 120-32. For the Eastern Orthodox practice, pp. 118-20.

²²⁸Works, 15: 504 (The Worthy Communicant).

²²⁹Ibid., p. 506.

²³⁰Ibid.

²³¹Ibid.

²³²Ibid., p. 507.

²³³Ibid., p. 508.

²³⁴Ibid., pp. 505, 508.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 507.

²³⁶Ibid., p. 503. One wonders who these "some few others" were, since none of the major Protestant churches, Lutheran, Reformed or Anglican, restored infant communion. The Tridentine decree stated: *Denique eadem sancta synodus docet, parvulos usu rationis carentes nulla obligari necessitate ad sacramentalem eucharistiae communionem, si quidem per baptismi lavacrum regenerati et Christo incorporati adeptam iam filiorum Dei gratiam in illa aetate amittere non possunt. Neque ideo tamen damanda est antiquitas, si eum morem in quibusdam locis probabilem causam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt, ita certe eos nulla salutis necessitate id fecisse sine controversia credendum est.* (Sessio XXI.) Canon IV stated: *Si quis dixerit parvulis, antequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, necessarium esse eucharistiae communionem: anathema sit.* Canones et Decreta, pp. 109-10.

²³⁷Works, 15: 508-509.

²³⁸Works, 4: 37-38.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 47.

²⁴⁰Ibid., p. 139; see also, p. 25.

²⁴¹See, e.g., his 1642 Of Religious Assemblies (ibid., 1: 346 ff.) and Epilogue (ibid., 4 (Part 2): 545).

²⁴²Ibid., 4: 25.

²⁴³Ibid., p. 69.

²⁴⁴Ibid., 4 (Part 2): 545.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 1: 342 [emphasis is mine].

²⁴⁶Ibid., p. 343. This distinction between reception and tendering was very similar to that of Calvin, who had taught that Christ offers spiritual food to all, but only the faithful can receive it. Institution, 4:17:33.

²⁴⁷Works, 4: 21.

²⁴⁸Ibid., p. 38.

²⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 38-39 [emphasis is mine].

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 39. See also, 5: 544 (Reformation of the Church of England).

²⁵¹Dugmore, while asserting that it was not consistent with Thorndike's own statement concerning the spiritual use of the elements (Works, 1: 350), yet admitted that Thorndike held "that the body and blood of Christ are in some sense received even by those who communicate

unworthily". This, Dugmore argued, "would imply that the elements are 'absolutely' Christ's body and blood before the delivery and 'spiritual use' of them". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 87. Stone stated, "Consequently the body and blood of Christ are in some sense received even by those who communicate unworthily [according to Thorndike]". A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, 2: 345.

²⁵²Works, 4: 36 (Epilogue).

²⁵³Ibid., p. 53; see also, 1: 344 (Of Religious Assemblies).

²⁵⁴Ibid., 4: 38.

²⁵⁵Ibid., 4 (Part 2): 737.

²⁵⁶Ibid.

²⁵⁷Ibid., 4: 37.

²⁵⁸Ibid., p. 70. Πῶς... τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην; Ἡ τὴν γνώμην ἀλλαξάτωσαν, ἣ τὸ προφέρειν τὰ εἰρημένα παραιτεῖσθωσαν Ἡμῶν δὲ σύμφωνος ἡ γνώμη τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία... βεβαίῳ τὴν γνώμην... Προσφέρομεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια, ἐμμελῶς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀπαγγέλλοντες, καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἔγερσιν. PG. 7: 1027-28 (Contra Haereses, lib. 4).

²⁵⁹Works, 4: 70.

²⁶⁰Ibid., p. 72; see also, De Trinitate, lib. 8 in PL, 10: 246-47 which says, *Si vere igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et vere homo ille, qui ex Maria natus fuit, Christus est, nosque vere sub mysterio carnis corporis sui sumimus (et per hoc unum erimus, quia Pater in eo est, et ille in nobis); quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietas, perfectae sacramentum sit unitatis ... De naturali enim in nobis Christi veritate quae dicimus, nisi ab eo didicimus, stulte atque impie dicimus. Ipse enim ait, 'Caro mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus vere est potus. Qui edit carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo...'*

²⁶¹Works, 4: 72 (Epilogue).

²⁶²Ibid., p. 30. Here Thorndike argued against transubstantiation without denying a bodily union with Christ. He simply asserted that the argument concerning the resurrection of the body through "immediately touching" the body of Christ in the eucharist was restricted to those who had faith; otherwise, those with a dead faith would receive the same. Moreover, he stated that transubstantiation implied that no man's body could immediately touch Christ's body, since this doctrine of eucharistic presence held Christ's body to be "invisibly present".

VI: THE CONTENT OF THE SACRAMENTAL PRESENCE

There can be no doubt that all the Caroline divines under consideration affirmed a reception of Christ's body at the eucharistic celebration. The question arises, however, as to what they meant by the words "body of Christ". How did they understand the nature of this eucharistic "body"? How was this "body" related to the actual physical body of Christ? In the first chapter, we saw that sixteenth-century defenders of the 'true' presence doctrine refused to *equate* the eucharistic body with the heavenly one, because of their understanding of Christ's body as a self-contained, empirical object subject to the restrictions of space and time. Did the Caroline theologians perpetuate this idea?

When we look at Saravia's teaching in De Sacra Eucharistia, we must answer this last question in the negative. As we have already seen (supra, pp. 183 ff.), he accepted the possibility of a simultaneous presence of Christ's body in heaven and on earth, but in different modes. He did not understand a "spiritual" presence as being necessarily opposed to a corporeal reception of Christ's body: *Et contra, quid peccat alius quia tantum erga nos Christi Domini credit amorem ut praesens Corpore Suis mysteriis adesse velit, ac divino, spirituali et coelesti modo, supernaturalique tectum nostri palati subire, ut sic Corpus praesens Suo Numine totum hominem impleat?*¹ Saravia also insisted upon the identity between the heavenly body and the eucharistic body, between Christ who carried the sacrament at its institution and Christ as carried in the sacrament.² The manner of presence in heaven and in the eucharist might be different, he argued, but it is the same body:

Sufficiat igitur nobis nos intelligere ex verbo Dei, sensibus nostris in mysteriis data esse sigilla et testimonia praesentiae nobis incomprehensibilis Corporis et Sanguinis Domini; quae, quamvis differat ab illa quam habet in coelo secundum veri corporis modum sicut habuit in terris, non tamen est nulla, aut tantum imaginaria. Idem Dominus qui nunc per manus ministrorum Suorum e coelo Corpus et Sanguinem Suum fidelibus populis distribuit, in ultima Coena manibus propriis Seipsum apostolis Suis porrexit. Et sicut tunc alius erat praesentiae modus Corporis accumbentis, et alius in sacramento et ore comedentis; similiter hodie alius est praesentiae Corporis Christi in coelo, alius in forma panis et vini, utrobique tamen realis et verus; sed alius et alius; quamvis non aliud et aliud sit quod datur in terris, et tamen est in coelis. Quando hic in terris adhuc agens, Suam Carnem epulandam discipulis Suis dabat, Ipse quidem₃ dabat et dabatur, ferebat et ferebatur...

This rather lengthy passage is indicative of an understanding of the eucharistic body as present on earth, in the hands and mouths of the ministers and communicants in the form of bread and wine, with no difference between that which is given on earth and that which, nevertheless, is still in heaven. Saravia maintained that, when he used the words *coelestem* and *spiritualem* to describe the eucharistic presence, he did not mean to detract from the sense of the words *supernaturalem* and *divinam*; rather, he used both sets of terms to show how close was their affinity.⁴ These passages suggest that he understood the very body of Christ, which is in heaven, to be present also on earth in an incomprehensible manner, but not after the *modus* of a natural or true body.

Keeping in mind Saravia's approval of the Augustana, Luther's teaching and the Wittenberg Concord, and his knowledge of other Lutheran divines (supra, pp.142-43,187),⁵ it is not surprising that the above position has much in common with sixteenth-century Lutheran doctrine. It was indeed a central point (if not *the* central point) in

the Lutheran understanding that Christ's body is present both in heaven and at the eucharistic celebration on earth, and that there is an *essential identity* between the two. Chemnitz, for example, had argued in his Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae that the Fathers, such as SS. Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Cyprian, had taught that, in a stupendous miracle, the *one* body of Christ is present both in heaven and on earth at the same time, *but in different modes*.⁶ Saravia, in fact, appealed to the same text from St. Chrysostom as had Chemnitz, claiming that he found nothing from which he would shrink in expressions such as that by Chrysostom which affirms that, by a "miracle", Christ is present both at the Father's right hand and in the eucharist.⁷ That Saravia was willing to acknowledge the appropriateness of the category of "miracle" with reference to the eucharistic presence, is a very strong argument that he had broken away from the Reformed refusal to allow the *very flesh* of Christ to be present on earth in the sacrament. One should also keep in mind that, while Saravia's use of the term "spiritual" was extremely popular in Calvinist and Anglican circles, it had also been accepted by Lutherans. The Konkordienformel, for example, had appropriated the term *contra* a gross and Capernaitic understanding of the presence:

Wann aber D. Luther oder wir dies Wort geistlich in diesem Handel gebrauchen, verstehn wir dadurch die geistliche,  bernat rliche himmelsche Weise, nach welcher Christus, bei dem heiligen Abendmahl gegenw rtig, nicht allein in den Gl ubigen Trost und Leben, sondern auch in der Ungl ubigen das Gericht w rket, dadurch wir die kapernaitische Gedanken von der grossen fleischlichen Gegenw rtigkeit verwerfen, welche unsern Kirchen durch die Sakramentierer  ber alles unser  ffentlich vielfaltig Bezeugen zugemessen und aufgetrungen wird...

It can also be noted in support of the Lutheran direction of Saravia's thinking, that he was not adverse to the term "corporeal". The text

which he used of the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, of which he was such a strong supporter, taught a corporeal presence of Christ's body in the reception of the sacrament: ... *nec sentiunt Corpus Christi localiter in Pane includi, vel alioqui corporaliter cum Pane uniri, extra sumptionem Sacramenti...*⁹

These Lutheran ideas did not mean, however, that Saravia accepted the doctrine of ubiquity. There was no more need for this idea, he argued, than for transubstantiation: *Pontificii frustra in transubstantiationem confugerunt; similiter et illi qui nescio quam nobis Corporis Christi ubiuitatem excogitarunt, ut partem illam sacramenti quae coelestis est conjungant cum terrena.*¹⁰ Significantly, Chemnitz, in his Examinis, had already linked together ubiquity and transubstantiation as being irrelevant to the doctrine of Christ's presence in the eucharist, the manner and mode of which, he claimed, Lutherans did not define:

*Fundamentum etiam praesentiae corporis Christi in coena, Lutherus monuit, non esse collocandum in disputatione de ubiuitate, sed in veritate verborum institutionis. Nec Transubstantiationem pro articulo fidei recipimus, de qua postea dicendum erit. Sed sicut verba coenae docent, simpliciter credimus illam praesentiam: modum vero & rationem non definimus, sed sapientiae Christi veracis & omnipotentis commendamus.*¹¹

Undoubtedly, part of the reason for Saravia's rejection of ubiquity was his refusal to define *how* the eucharistic miracle takes place.¹² More importantly, it was associated with his insistence that Christ is not exhibited in the eucharist otherwise than He is signified. The bread and wine are not related to the body and blood *simpliciter*, such as they are in glory, but such as they had been on the cross.¹³ The glorified flesh and blood of Christ, in the condition in which they now exist, are not the other part of the sacrament; they have no

relation or analogy to the bread and wine: *Nam Caro Christi gloriosa et Sanguis immortalis ea conditone qua nunc gaudent non sunt sacramenti altera pars; hoc est, nullam habent relationem et analogiam ad panem et vinum, ut Corporis et Sanguinis Christi possint constituere sacramentum.*¹⁴ The eucharist, he claimed, does not represent, signify or exhibit the body in glory, since it shows forth the death of the Lord, not His glory and resurrection:

*Pari ratione, sacramentum Eucharistiae nec imaginem, nec significationem, nec ullam exhibitionem habet Corporis Christi gloriosi, quocunque modo cogitetur, aut unitum cum externis symbolis, aut illis substitutum. Conditio illa beata nihil habet commune cum symbolis crucifixi Corporis Christi, et Sanguinis effusi. Mortis enim Dominicae praedictionem hoc sacramentum continet, non gloriae et resurrectionis.*¹⁵

Christ always and everywhere has present in Himself His eternal sacrifice once offered; it has not passed away with time and it has not become ineffectual. The crucified Lord, Saravia asserted, is eternally present to God the Father. Just as the crucified body and blood are present to God, so they are present and exhibited in the sacrament; hence, the bread is the crucified body and the wine the shed blood, in such a way that communicants in reality (*revera*) eat Christ's flesh and drink His blood.¹⁶ Christ gives these heavenly gifts under the *forma et conditio* whereby He effected man's eternal redemption.¹⁷ There was certainly Reformed influence on this language and idea of Saravia that the eucharistic body is the body *as crucified*, distinct from the body as glorified. He, in fact, appealed to both Calvin and Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563) in this matter.¹⁸

Saravia, however, did not eliminate the idea of a presence of the glorified Christ in the eucharist, arguing that, while the sacrament does not exhibit the glorified flesh, in that it is glorified (*quatenus est glorificatum*), nevertheless, it is the presence of the glorified body,

supernatural, divine, heavenly and spiritual, which sets forth or causes (*exhibet*) that which the outward sign signifies, i.e., the crucified, sacrificed body.¹⁹ It can be said that the glorified body is given according to the form and circumstances of the passion, he argued:

*Servator noster qui Se suumque Corpus post resurrectionem, quod spirituale, gloriosum et immortale erat, visibile et palpabile, quale voluit, sine vulneribus in Cruce acceptis, et cum vulneribus manum et lateris, ut ab illis videri et attrectari posset, et a Thoma in primis, sicut ipsorum fidei imbecillitas postulabat, exhibuit; potest procul dubio et nunc fidelibus Illud manducandum et Sanguinem potandum dari, illa forma et condicione qua nobis vitam et immortalitatem peperit.*²⁰

Saravia at this point seems to have employed Reformed language, filling it with a doctrine of eucharistic presence not far removed from Lutheran thinking, without the ubiquity concept, and teaching that the very body of Christ, seated at the Father's right hand, is also present in a mysterious way in the hands and mouths of communicants on earth as the crucified flesh of the Redeemer.

It has been suggested by Nijenhuis that the absence of "substance" language in Saravia's eucharistic theology may indicate an essential difference with Luther.²¹ This conclusion, however, need not necessarily be drawn. It is true that Saravia did not use the terms *substantia* and *substantialiter* to describe the eucharistic presence. Even when he recorded the text of the Wittenberg Concord, he employed the word *essentialiter* to describe the presence of the body and blood, rather than *substantialiter*, which is found in other editions of the text.²² Martin Bucer's 1536 letter to Bishop Fox included by Saravia did, however, use *substantialiter*, and in this letter, Bucer noted that the term had caused offence at times.²³ Here, then, may be the reason

for the absence of the term in Saravia's own exposition of eucharistic presence; not that he objected to its meaning or intention in Lutheran usage, but that in an overtly ecumenical and conciliatory treatise, in which he expressed so many other ideas in common with the Lutherans and in which he expressly approved of Luther's teaching, he did not use a particular expression which would be offensive to some. Saravia expressly stated that those who agreed in doctrine should not sow discord through a difference of words.²⁴ Also, Luther used the term "substance", not in the Thomist philosophical sense, but in what one might call the Nominalist concrete, *non-speculative* sense, to mean the "real, true body and blood of Christ".²⁵ Saravia's non-speculative approach, linked with his insistence upon the oneness of the heavenly body and eucharistic body, had much in common with that of Luther, despite the lack of 'substance' language in his treatise.

Throughout the sermons of Andrewes, he taught that Christ's body is indeed received in the sacrament. For example, in his 1592 sermon on the second commandment, he said that there is a reception of Christ's "true" body in the eucharist:

And again too, that to a many with us [in the Church of England] it is indeed so *fractio panis*, as it is that only and nothing besides; whereas the 'bread which we break' is the partaking of Christ's true 'body' - and not of a sign, figure, or remembrance of it. For the Church hath ever believed a true fruition of the true body of Christ in that Sacrament.

In a 1612 Easter sermon, Andrewes argued that the sacrament concerns "Christ's body that now is", but not "Christ's body as now it is". The eucharistic body concerns not the glorified, immortal and impassible body which Christ now possesses in heaven; rather, it is related to that body sacrificed for men:

Christ's body that now is, True; but not Christ's body as now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us. Not, as now He is, glorified, for so He is not, so He cannot be *immolatus*, for He is immortal and impassible. But as then He was when He suffered death, that is passible and mortal. Then, in His passible estate did He institute this of ours, to be a memorial of His *passibile* and *Passio* both. And we are in this action not only carried up to Christ, (*Sursum corda*) but we are also carried back to Christ as He was at the very instant, and in the very act of His offering. So, and no other wise, doth this text teach. So, and no other wise, do we represent Him. By the incomprehensible power of His eternal Spirit, not He alone, but He, as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate into His death, and invested in the benefits of it. If an host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, it would not serve; Christ offered is it - thither we must look. To the serpent lift up, thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*²⁷; we must *hoc facere*, do that is then done.

We shall return to the significance of this passage shortly.

In his 1613 Easter sermon, Andrewes taught that the eucharist sets forward both "the 'Bread that came down from Heaven', and the Blood that hath been carried 'into the holy place'".²⁸ On the feast of Pentecost, 1616, he said, "And there is no better way of celebrating the Feast of the receiving of the Holy Ghost than so to do, with receiving the same Body that came of It at His birth, and that came from It now at His rising again".²⁹ Six years later at Easter in 1622, referring to the eucharist, he acknowledged a participation in the "substance" of Christ: "For requisite it was, that since we drew our death from the first Adam by partaking of his substance, ssembly and in like sort we should partake the substance of the second Adam."³⁰

Returning now to the passage from Andrewes' 1612 sermon, we see that he distinguished between the crucified body and the glorified, as Saravia had done. This distinction was in terms of the relationship of the body to its circumstances, its "estate", i.e., 1. a-body which suffered and

died, and 2. a body transfigured and impassible in its glorified condition. Andrewes, despite this distinction, still affirmed that the eucharistic body had some connection with the body resurrected and ascended - "Christ's body that now is". It would be going too far, therefore, to claim that Andrewes' distinction between the crucified and glorified body meant the exclusion of a presence of Christ's glorified body from the sacrament altogether.³¹ Nevertheless, his language certainly was akin to that of Reformed theologians, such as we saw in our discussion of Saravia (supra, pp. 319-20).

Mackean has claimed that the above passage from Andrewes' 1612 Easter sermon was a "genuine attempt to dissociate the consecrated elements from the realist notion of the presence, for if the body and blood, as they were on the Cross, are distant in time and space, and literally, as such, are no more, they can only be present by 'faith..'.³² One must keep in mind, however, that, in other sermons, Andrewes also identified the eucharistic body with that which Christ received at His birth, which was resurrected from the tomb and which has ascended into heaven. Even Mackean acknowledged that Andrewes' language in 1612 was somewhat ambiguous, in that there is a "contradiction in the phraseology of his criticism of the objective real presence".³³ A certain lack of clarity does exist, inasmuch as Andrewes, while denying that the eucharistic presence concerns the body as ascended and glorified, still affirmed that it is the ascended and glorified body. The Reformed, moreover, were not unaware of the same dilemma. W. Musculus, for example, raised the question of whether it is the blood shed on the cross which also has ascended into heaven to the Father's right hand. His answer was that he did not know, but that one should stick to the words of the institution which identify the sacramental blood as the

shed blood of the passion:

And whether it be that bloude of Christ whiche was shedde uppon the Crosse, wherewith he arose againe, went up unto heaven, and sytteth at the right hand of the Father, let other men be iudges. We do not attribute unto Christe sundrye bloude: but we doe sticke unto his wordes, and seeke for the true meaning₃₄ of them, and for the mystery of this Sacrament.

The utilization of Reformed language by Andrewes in this matter may reflect a common difficulty in maintaining, on the one hand, the essential unity among sacrificed body, ascended, glorified body and sacramental body, and in asserting, on the other hand, a distinction of some kind between the body as crucified and the body as glorified.

In his 1629 *Stricturae*, Andrewes used the word "spiritual" to describe the eucharistic body and in explicit opposition to the "true and proper body of Christ":

Wherein yet, lest any might mistake it with the Cardinal, with a wrong *Croyoit, comme contenant le vray et propre corps de Christ*, Saint Augustine presently is careful to warn his auditors, that the word *manducat* there is to be spiritually understood, and he bringeth in Christ thus speaking; *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; spiritualiter intellectum vivificavit vos. Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi.* Which show that Saint Augustine was not₃₅ of the Cardinal's *Croyoit* touching the Sacrament.

It seems that Andrewes intended here to reject any notion that the very "corporeality" of Christ's body is present in the sacrament and is received by the communicant's body. This, undoubtedly, is what he understood Cardinal du Perron to have defended when he had stated that the Greek Fathers *n'entendent pas le mot, 'spirituellement', exclurre la corporeité, ny de la chose reçue, ny de l'organe par lequel elle se reçoit...*³⁶

That Andrewes, in his literary dispute with du Perron, was opposing the identification of the empirical, literal body of Christ with what is received on earth in the eucharist is supported by ideas which he had expressed earlier. In his 1610 *Responsio*, for example, he stated in his discussion of the eucharistic sacrifice that, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were eliminated, there would be no argument about the sacrifice. The Church of England would not allow a Christ made of bread to be sacrificed, however.³⁷ The point which Andrewes was making is not merely that the substance of bread remains, but that the Roman doctrine of sacrifice is wrong because it is based on the notion that the very body of Christ itself is present and thus can be sacrificed. If this foundational belief were done away with, agreement could be had on the basis of "a memory of the sacrifice", he claimed.³⁸ Four years later in his 1616 Whitsunday sermon, he described the eucharistic presence in terms of power and virtue: "And so receiving it, He that breathed Christ, and He That was breathed [the Holy Spirit], both of Them vouchsafe to breathe into those holy mysteries a Divine power and virtue, and make them to us the bread of life, and the cup of salvation...".³⁹ This passage suggests a eucharistic presence, but certainly not of the *very* flesh and blood of Christ. It seems to favour, as W. Goode has pointed out, a "virtual presence" in the elements.⁴⁰ Moreover, one must keep in mind Andrewes' 1621 Easter sermon (*supra*, pp. 256-57), where he taught that Christ's ascension means that faith, elevated to where He is, is required in order to "touch Him and take hold of" Him.

It is possible that what one finds in Andrewes' teaching is similar to what one finds in Calvin's - the use of 'real' presence language, going so far as to affirm the participation of the communicant

in the "substance" of Christ, but founded upon the *sursum corda* understanding of participation, whereby faith is lifted up to Christ sitting in heaven.⁴¹ This would mean, then, that Andrewes' eucharistic doctrine rested on the Reformed 'true' presence idea of Christ's body as an empirical, self-contained and limited object present in heaven, and not on earth. Such a perspective certainly was *part* of Andrewes' teaching. Nonetheless, throughout his writings and sermons from 1609 to 1629, one also finds, as we have already seen (*supra*, pp. 189 ff.), the idea that Christ's body is present on the altar and in the elements. This suggests some notion of a simultaneous presence of the body both in heaven and on earth. Both conceptualizations - the *sursum corda* approach and the simultaneous presence doctrine - can be found in Andrewes' teaching. This unresolved tension helps to explain why both "high-churchmen" and "low-churchmen" have been able to appeal to him in support of their own positions. Maurice F. Reidy has described the situation like this:

Andrewes' theology of the Holy Eucharist has received relatively great attention from competent scholars, yet it is so indecisive and involved as to leave them in uncertainty as to his exact doctrinal position... It was not easy for Andrewes to formulate within the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles a doctrine which would at the same time satisfy his devotional appetite.⁴²

In his first series of notes on the Prayer Book, Cosin stated that the body and blood of Christ are "really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it; and all this not after a physical and sensual manner, but after a heavenly and invisible, and incomprehensible manner".⁴³ The clue for understanding what Cosin meant by this "substantial" presence lies in his use of the teaching of

the Jesuit theologian Maldonatus. This Roman Catholic, Cosin argued, by acknowledging the difference between the sign which is seen and the thing signified - i.e., the body of Christ - which is not seen,

... approves of our doctrine, and condemns that gross conceit of the ignorant papists, that think they see, and taste, and chew the very Body of Christ, corporally, which every man abhors to conceive, even the best learned among the papists as well. I cannot see where any real difference is betwixt us about this real presence, if we would give over the study of contradiction, and understand one another aright.⁴⁴

Maldonatus, standing in the Thomist stream of thinking,⁴⁵ had argued that the body of Christ is *vere, essentialiter, substantialiter, realiter* in the sacrament.⁴⁶ This did not mean that Christ's body is literally devoured or ground to pieces or broken.⁴⁷ Rather, it meant that Christ is present according to a mode, similar to that of the spirit in a body, such that the total Christ is present in each particle of the sacramental elements without occupying space.⁴⁸ The physical body of Christ occupies space through its "accidents", not through its "essence", and it is according to its "essence" or "substance" that the body is in the eucharist.⁴⁹ It is this highly philosophical and subtle interpretation of the sacramental presence which Cosin found to be not so distant from his, and the English Church's, understanding of the sacrament.

What Cosin repudiated in "that gross conceit of the ignorant papists" was that tradition of eucharistic thinking and popular piety which conceived of the accidents of bread and wine only as veils hiding the very real and concrete body of Christ, but which could, if God so willed, be dropped and allow the communicant even to see Christ in the host. The principle of such miraculous visions at Mass, such as the famous "Mass of St. Gregory", had been defended in medieval Nominalist

theological circles, but denied by Thomas, for whom a presence by means of the *substantia* of Christ's body excluded, by definition, any sense-experiences of the literal flesh of Christ.⁵⁰ The eucharistic body of Christ, he argued, is not subject to the senses, to sight, or to imagination, but *only* to the intellect!⁵¹ It is understandable why Cosin, as a divine having inherited the Reformed 'true' presence tradition, could feel an affinity towards Maldonatus the Thomist, and others of the "best learned among the papists". Both traditions were concerned to exclude the idea of the literal physical body of Christ being contained in the sacrament.⁵² Cosin, however, sided with the latter over against his Anglican heritage inasmuch as he claimed that the body of Christ is "*substantially present*, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it" (*supra*, p. 195) - an objective presence of Christ's body on earth in terms of its "substance".

A number of years later, in his 1651 Christmas sermon, Cosin contrasted (as Andrewes had done before him) a "spiritual" presence with a corporeal or bodily presence and manducation. After quoting the same passage from St. Augustine which Andrewes had used - *Non enim hunc carnem quem videtis, manducaturi estis, sed spiritualiter* ^{/intellectum} *(supra*, p. 324) - he asserted that the "true Catholic doctrine of the Church" is the spiritual eating. The "gross and corporal manner" is not "Catholic".⁵³ In his Ascension sermon of the same year, he distinguished between what he called the "bodily, corporal and fleshly manner" and the "spiritual presence", understanding the former to imply position in one place at a time and the latter as a mode which enables Christ to be present in a ubiquitous manner, "For by His Spirit He can be everywhere truly and really every where, where it pleaseth Him...".⁵⁴ The corporeal, visible presence was removed so that the spiritual, invisible presence might

follow.⁵⁵ Christ "is gone and taken up into heaven" and will not return "in any bodily manner" until "the time of restitution".⁵⁶

Christ is no longer with the Church according to a "bodily or fleshly manner of being":

And if either St. Paul says true here, or St. Luke true here, the truth is, they are but in a cloud still that fancy His fleshly presence to be still among them; it is a cloud in their own heads, that, for Christ is where He should be; this cloud has taken His bodily and fleshly manner of being here, from among us all.

There is a certain ambiguity in this language. Cosin could have meant to exclude no more than what he did in his first series of notes when he stated that Christ's body is not present in the eucharist "after a physical and sensual manner". Or, he could have meant that the body of Christ is only present in heaven, and not on earth except indirectly through the power and influence of the Holy Spirit.

In his 1656 Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, Cosin explicitly asserted that the very substance of Christ is received in the sacrament, not just the merits or fruit of His passion:

*Non enim dicimus, merita tantum mortis Christi per sacrata symbola significari, sed ipsum verum Corpus quod pro nobis crucifixum... non dicimus, in hac sacra Coena, nos tantum esse participes fructus mortis et passionis Christi, sed fundum ipsum cum fructibus, qui ab Ipso ad nos redeant, conjungimus; asserentes cum Apostolo, 'Panem quem frangimus esse νομωνλαυ Corporis Christi, et poculum Sanguinis Ejus communicatione', (imo, in eadem illa substantia, quam accepit in utero Virginis, et quam sursum in coelos invenit;)....*⁵⁸

He also stated that the very, true nature of Christ's body and a real, substantial presence is exhibited in the sacrament (*quum ipsam veram naturam Corporis Christi, et realem ac substantialem praesentiam, nobis in sacra communione exhiberi*).⁵⁹ He even suggested in one passage that if it were not for the bread, which conceals the body of Christ, one

would be able to see it: ... *nam, quum ibi detur et sumatur, omnino oportet ut adsit, licet sacramento suo quasi contectum sit, et ibi, ut in se est, conspici nequeat...*⁶⁰

Cosin also described the presence as *mystica et sacramentalis*, meaning that the name, properties and effects of the thing signified are given to the sign.⁶¹ There is, he asserted, a difference between the mystical body which is present in the sacrament and the natural form of a human body (*formam humani corporis naturalem*). The difference, however, is that of manner and exhibition, rather than of subject, since the sacramental body is none other than that which was given into death by Christ for man's redemption.⁶² The orthodox and holy doctors of the primitive Catholic Church unanimously taught that the presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament is *solam spiritualem et mysticam praesentiam*, he argued.⁶³

Cosin stressed in this late treatise, no less than in his earlier notes, the identity between the heavenly body and the eucharistic body. In one passage, however, he rejected the Thomistic understanding of the eucharistic presence. (He may have been influenced in this regard by Taylor's 1654 The Real Presence, which he eventually obtained for his own library. The book is still in Cosin's library at Durham.) To claim that Christ is spiritually present according to a manner whereby He is wholly and entirely in each part of the host, as spirits are present, and to claim that although He is not seen, touched or moved in Himself, yet is seen, touched and moved with respect to the accidents of bread and wine, is an understanding derived from neither the Scriptures nor the Fathers, he argued.⁶⁴

Despite his continuing willingness to identify the eucharistic body with Christ's human body, Cosin's thinking had shifted in such a

way that he no longer conceived of an objective "substantial" presence in the elements in the Thomistic sense. Rather, as we saw in previous chapters, the emphasis on a presence in the *usus*, and the role of faith and the Holy Spirit became for Cosin the crucial links with Christ's body, as it was for the Reformed tradition. We must remind ourselves again that in this work, he praised Calvin's teaching in no uncertain terms: . . . *cujus [Calvin's] verba (cum in Institutionibus, tum alibi) talia sunt, et priscorum patrum stylo ac menti tam convenientia, ut Reformatorum Catholicorum nemo aliis uti desideraret.*⁶⁵ Although Cosin had abandoned belief in a presence of the substance of Christ's body in the earthly elements, he, nevertheless, retained the belief in a "spiritual and mystical" reception of the very "substance" of Christ.

In 1624, Montague acknowledged, as Andrewes had done in a sermon two years previously, that the "whatness" of the eucharistic presence concerns Christ's 'substance'. "A bare *figure*, he wrote in A New Gagge for an Old Goose, "is but a phantasme. He [Christ] gave substance, and really subsisting essence, who said, *This is my body: This is my bloud.*"⁶⁶ He expressed this participation in Christ's substance again in his witty attacks on his Roman opponent: "Poore woodcock or Catholique Cockscomb, that sendest a *Protestant* to seek a *figure*, who is as reall and substantiall as any Papist."⁶⁷ But what did Montague mean by these assertions? Even his opponents were somewhat befuddled by such statements. The Puritans, S. Ward and J. Yates, in their A Dangerous Plot Discovered (1626), claimed that Montague's language in this regard was "little more than a riddle". To say that Christ gives "substance & really subsisting essence" could mean one of three things: 1. It could be a reference to the substance of bread and

wine, which would be true; 2) It could be a reference to the substance of Christ's body, which is present in the sacrament, as the Council of Trent taught; this would be a false understanding; 3) It could mean that "after an heavenly and spirituall manner, that is to say, unto faith" Christ gives His substance. If this is what Montague meant, Ward and Yates, argued, then "he saith true, and thus he must say, or disclaime the faith of the Church of *England*".⁶⁸

It is significant that these two Puritans, who intended to prove that Montague was attempting to introduce Roman doctrine into the Church of England, could not demonstrate that he had actually done so in terms of the "Whatness" of the eucharist. The most they could show was an ambiguity in what he *could* have meant.

Despite this difficulty in understanding his language, it is certain that Montague did not accept a presence of Christ's literal flesh. "It is not said", he argued, "This is my body corporally; eaten orally; there carnally; conceived of grossely".⁶⁹ "This cannot be, say the Protestants", Montague claimed. The reason why "the manner cannot be so conceived" is that the "carnal sense" of the eucharistic words is "contraried" by other passages of Scripture. As an example, he cited John 6: 63, "the flesh profiteth nothing", a text which is "against carnall eating of Christ's flesh as can be".⁷⁰ This passage must refer to Christ's flesh, Montague argued, and it must mean that the flesh of Christ carnally understood, as in the doctrine of transubstantiation, is useless; otherwise, it would be "absurd" and "impious" to suggest that Christ's flesh, which gives life, can also in some cases profit nothing.⁷¹ This discussion by Montague indicates that he understood the eucharistic institution and the discourse on eating the flesh of Christ in John 6 as referring to the same manducation, and that he rejected the corporeal presence, which would provide the foundation for a "carnal"

or oral reception of Christ's body. Moreover, he expressly rejected "consubstantiation" together with transubstantiation as the "unexplicable Labyrinths" which amused, distracted and only served to set the world in division. They offer nothing for "piety", nor did they provide any "information" about the presence.⁷²

While Montague's description of the nature of Christ's body in the eucharist was not very complete, what he did say suggests that, whatever he might have positively understood by the term "substance", he did not intend this to be equated with the literal corporeal flesh of Jesus. In this respect, he stood in continuity with the Reformed 'true' presence tradition of the sixteenth-century.

Forbes, undoubtedly aware of what the teaching of his brothers south of the border had been during the 1620's, registered his agreement in *Considerationes Modestae* with all those theologians who taught a true, real and substantial presence: *Tutissima et rectissima videtur illorum Protestantium aliorumque sententia, quia corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, realiter, et substantialiter in Eucharistia adesse et sumi existimant, imo firmissime credunt. . .*⁷³ He also approved of the 1557 confession of the Reformed churches of France and Switzerland to the Lutherans at Worms, in which it was confessed that the very substance of Christ, His very body and blood (*sed ipsam etiam Filii hominis substantiam, ipsam, inquam, veram carnem &c. et verum illum sanguinem*) are represented, exhibited and offered (*representari, exhiberi, offeri*) in the eucharist.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Forbes denied that the bread is the substantial body of Christ itself and that it contains the body of Christ corporeally, . . . *licet panis mysticus nec substantialiter sit ipsummet Christi corpus, neque etiam corporaliter idem in se, &c. contineat.*⁷⁵ This statement, however, may only be

intended to deny the *locus* of the presence as being the bread itself.

It is important to remember in this context that Forbes understood Christ's eucharistic body to be received *neither* by mouth nor *only* by faith, but to be received in a mysterious fashion by both body and soul (*supra.*, p. 273).⁷⁶ He also accepted the possibility of a simultaneous presence of Christ's body in heaven and on earth. They err most gravely, he argued, who teach that Christ, because He is circumscribed in place in heaven, cannot really or in very deed be present in the sacrament. All the faithful, Forbes claimed, confess and profess the ascension and session at the Father's right hand and deny that Christ visibly or invisibly descends from heaven to be locally in the Supper or in the symbols:

*Denique gravissime erratur, quando 'Christum non esse realiter in Eucharistia, hisce ratiunculis urgetur'; 'Christus est in coelo, loco circumscriptus, &c. igitur non est reipsa vel realiter in Eucharistia'. Nemo enim sanae mentis Christum e coelo vel de dextra Patris descendere visibiliter aut invisibiliter, ut 'in coena vel signis localiter adsit', existimat:*⁷⁷

All confess that the mode of eucharistic presence is not *naturalem*, *corporalem*, *carnalem*, *localem per se*, but is *supernaturalem* and without any departure from heaven.⁷⁸

Zwingli and Oecolampadius conceded to the Lutherans, and therefore to the Romanists as well, Forbes asserted, that God is able to bring it about that one body should be in different places at the same time. They only requested that it should be shown that God actually wills this to happen in the eucharist. Forbes expressed his approval of this attitude by saying, *Utinam hic pedem fixissent, nec ulterius progressi fuissent discipuli!*⁷⁹ The Calvinist divine Zachary Ursinus from Heidelberg, addressing the Lutheran theologian Jacobus Andreas at the conference of Malbrun, said that the Reformed do not enquire or discuss

whether God in His omnipotence is *able* to make a body to be in several places at the same time, but only whether He *wills* to do so.⁸⁰ While Forbes approved of this position, he expressed doubt as to whether it was actually the position held by Reformed theologians. Referring to Ursinus' claim, he wrote, *Quam vere haec ultima dicta sunt, judicet Lector aequus.*⁸¹ He may have had in mind Calvin's assertion that to confess the body's presence in several places would be to accept a "mere phantom"⁸² or an "immensity" which constituted a "monstrous ubiquity".⁸³

Forbes also cited Peter Martyr's 1549 disputation regarding the eucharist, in which he was willing to grant that Christ's body can penetrate another solid body, but denied that one body can simultaneously be present in more places than one.⁸⁴ For Forbes, however, this seemed to be inappropriate, since both actions seemed equally absurd and impossible according to nature, but appeared to be possible for God.⁸⁵

After citing various authors, some holding opinions similar to that of Martyr, Forbes appealed to an English philosopher and doctor of medicine, John Case (?-1600), who had argued that by divine power it is possible for a body to exist in more places than one at the same time. It would not be a contradiction of nature if God were to do this, since nature is subject to His will and power and is not immutable, but flexible and changeable. Moreover, Case argued, in the mysteries of God, incredulity is the *infidelitatis filia* and gives birth to only nominal Christians. If one does not see the reason or possibility of something, he should not therefore conclude, *Haec fabula est, fieri non potest*. Without contradiction it is possible for God to bring it about that a body is in two places at once, or that two bodies exist in one place simultaneously. The One who formed everything

out of nothing, who caused a body to be resurrected through a sealed tomb and who enabled a body to enter a room through closed doors, is able to perform this.⁸⁶ Of this Englishman's writings, Forbes commented, *Viri moderationem commendo. Saepe etiam est aliter valde opportuna locutus.*⁸⁷ Desiring to allow for the possibility of God's power to effect the presence of Christ's body in the eucharistic celebration on earth, without any local movement of the body from its heavenly place,⁸⁸ Forbes maintained that in questions involving seeming contradictions one should accept what is clearly stated in Scripture and take care not to restrain too much the infinite power of God to the common course of nature and the comprehension of reason.⁸⁹

One should understand this allowance by Forbes that Christ's body can be present simultaneously in various places, in conjunction with 1. his claim that what is given in the eucharist is different from what is given in the Word and Baptism, 2. his affirmation that the communicant's body receives Christ's body, and 3. his defence of Lutherans and Roman Catholics against the charges of Cannibalism, drinking of blood, etc. (supra, p. 275). Here one sees severe cracks in the foundation of Reformed eucharistic teaching, which understood Christ's "body" to be a self-contained empirical object resident in heaven and accessible to men on earth only in terms of faith. Forbes was venturing very close to the 'real' presence understanding of a substantial presence of Christ's body *simultaneously* in heaven and in the celebrations of the eucharist on earth, and as something received not only by the communicant's mind or soul, but by his body as well. That he did not move entirely into this orbit of thought is shown by his denials of a presence in the elements themselves, of *manducatio oralis* and of *manducatio impiorum*. The presence of these two strands of thinking stood in unresolved tension in Forbes'

exposition of the eucharistic presence.

When we turn to Laud's thinking, we find a eucharistic theology which changed over the years. In his diary there is found the following entry, dated 5 February, 1622:

Wednesday, I came to London. I went that night to his majesty, hearing he had sent for me. He delivered me a book to read and observe. It was a tract of a Capuchin, that had once been a Protestant. He was now with the French ambassador. The tract was to prove that Christ's body was in two places at once, in the apparition to St. Paul. Acts. ix.⁹⁰

The observations made by Laud on this tract still exist, and in them he identifies himself with the teaching which holds that the body of Christ does not exist in two places simultaneously. Against the Cappuchin's statement that Christ spoke with His own mouth on the way to Damascus, and not from heaven, Laud observed: "This follows not howsoever: for he might speak with His proper mouth and yet from heaven: If the author deny this, himself must deny the omnipotence of Christ".⁹¹ Likewise, I Corinthians 9: 1 does not say that St. Paul saw Christ "on earth", but only that he "really" saw Him.⁹² Laud argued that it might have happened that Christ left heaven in order to appear to St. Paul, since Scripture does not say that He did not leave heaven at that time. The heavens contain Christ not as a prison would, he asserted, but as a house: "That it is contrary of that Translation, the heavens must contain Him: *Non est; nam coelum continet Eum ut 'Domus', non ut 'Carcer'*".⁹³ Neither Calvin nor Beza claimed that Christ was enclosed or shut up (*concludi*) in heaven, Laud argued.⁹⁴ Nor is Christ's body "nailed" to heaven; rather, upon special dispensation, His body can be out of heaven when He so wills.⁹⁵ Laud attacked the tract's author for using the phrase, *nihil impossibile*

Deo, against the "sacramentarians" who claimed "that this axiom hath some exception". In the following notation, Laud applied this principle to eucharistic doctrine: "I hope the Rom: themselves will not say that Corpus Christi περιγράφτον (i.e. *modo quantitativo circumscriptum*) in sacra coena esse: and so in that the sacramentaries do no more oppose God's omnipotency than they themselves do".⁹⁶ Laud's point was that the Reformed denial that Christ's body is both in heaven and in the earthly eucharist simultaneously, is no more a limiting of God's power than the Roman claim that the body of Christ is in the eucharist, but under a mode other than its presence in heaven.

In his observations on this tract, Laud made it clear that his repudiation of the Roman attempt to prove the presence of Christ's body in two places was also a refusal to admit the doctrine of ubiquity. He accused the Cappuchin author of sounding just like Schlusselfurche,⁹⁷ a Lutheran theologian cited by the author against Reformed eucharistic theology:

The author is almost nothing himself but Schlusselfurche transcribed; as appears in every page ad page 15. Why then if he approves this Lutheran's judgement against the Sacramentaries, he must maintain his grounds too and defend ubiquity of Christ's body, which I hope he will not.⁹⁸

In his notations, Laud also attacked the tendency to play down the implications of the physical ascension, which he saw Schlusselfurche as doing; "Whereas this Lutheran here doth read the Text Quod coelum suscepit Christum; sed quod Christus acceperit coelum", he wrote. And again, "The Greek text is ambiguous, but sure the Lutheran not right in the sense".⁹⁹ On the basis of these observations by Laud on the Cappuchin tract, it is possible to see that while he did not exclude the possibility of a special dispensation by which Christ's body might be out of heaven, he did reject both ubiquity and the

teaching of a simultaneous presence of Christ's literal body.

In his 1636 "Starr-chamber" speech, however, Laud claimed that Christ's presence in the eucharist is different from, and superior to, His presence in the spoken Gospel: "'This is My body'; but in the pulpit 'tis at most, but *Hoc est verbum meum*, 'This is My word'. And a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the body than to the word of the Lord".¹⁰⁰ This statement implies that there is something unique about the "whatness" of the eucharistic presence, in much the same way as Forbes distinguished between the body of Christ received in the sacrament and as received through the Word and Baptism (supra, p.336). (It is not a question of indebtedness to Forbes on Laud's part, since Forbes' Considerationes Modestae was not published until 1658.) Laud's language, in fact, suggests that Christ's body *itself* is present on the altar. Otherwise, there would^{/be} no sense in his claim that *what* is present deserves more reverence than God's word. Here, then, one finds a bold, but unfortunately undeveloped, statement which has more in common with the Roman and Lutheran 'real' presence teaching than with Reformed 'true' presence doctrine.

Three years later in his Conference with Fisher, in his attempt to explain Cranmer's rejection of the Word "really" with reference to the eucharistic presence, Laud argued that this was due to the Archbishop's understanding of the word as meaning *corporaliter* or a "natural body and organical".¹⁰¹ Laud associated this latter understanding with that of Bellarmine and the Church of Rome. Bellarmine, he argued, contradicted himself because, on the one hand, he claimed there are many arguments which prove that the body of Christ is eaten corporeally, *Quod autem corporaliter et proprie, probari potest omnibus argumentis*,¹⁰² and, on the other hand, he admitted that Christ is not in the sacrament

corporeally, i.e., according to the manner by which natural bodies exist, *non dicemus corporaliter, i.e. eo modo, quo suapte natura existunt corpora.*¹⁰³ Bellarmine was either "in a notorious contradiction " or Christ is existent *in* the sacrament one way and *received* another, "which is a gross absurdity", according to Laud.¹⁰⁴ He also cited The Institution of a Christian Man, produced during Henry VIII's reign, as evidence that a corporeal presence is implied by the doctrine of transubstantiation: "Under the form and figure of bread and wine, the very body and blood of Christ is corporeally, really, &c., exhibited and received".¹⁰⁵ After this, Laud cited the words of Thomas Aquinas which teach that since the substance of Christ's body is not despoiled of its dimensions or of its other accidents, it follows that they are in this sacrament through natural concomitance (*Quia tamen substantia corporis Christi realiter non dividitur a sua quantitate dimensiva, et ab aliis accidentibus, inde est, quod ex vi realis concomitantiae est in hoc sacramento tota quantitas dimensiva corporis Christi, et omnia accidentia ejus.*).¹⁰⁶

The purpose behind Laud's citation of these Roman materials was to demonstrate that his opponents, in the final analysis, had to admit a presence of the body as "natural" and "organical" if they wanted to hold a 'corporeal' presence, a position which Laud himself repudiated.

This, however, does not entirely answer the question of how Laud understood the "whatness" of the eucharist. The above statements were part of a polemical defence of the Anglican tradition against Roman attack. They can legitimately be interpreted as meaning no more than a rejection of Christ's presence on earth according to the *mode* of a body. This is not to say that the sixteenth-century Anglicans and Calvin, all of whom Laud was defending, had taught what Laud *claimed* they had taught. Rather, he seems to have utilized their statements in

defence of his own understanding of "the true and substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist".¹⁰⁷ The "true and real body of Christ", he argued, is present not only in the "supper in heaven", but also "in and at the Eucharist".¹⁰⁸ It is significant that he praised Ridley's 'real' presence sounding language that the true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father" is present in the sacrament.¹⁰⁹ He also appealed to Calvin as having taught a true and substantial communication of the body and a participation in the substance of Christ.¹¹⁰ While Laud rejected the term "corporeal" in this treatise, as well as throughout the rest of his career,¹¹¹ he seems to have come close, as Stone has pointed out, to accepting "the positive doctrine which the more theologically minded advocates of Transubstantiation had at heart"¹¹² - a reference, undoubtedly to the Thomists. Referring to Bellarmine's statement that the conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is substantial, but after a secret and ineffable manner, Laud commented, "Now, if he had left out 'conversion', and affirmed only Christ's 'real presence' there, after a mysterious, and indeed an ineffable, manner, no man could have spoken better."¹¹³

This would mean, then, that Laud's thinking had shifted from the 1620's when he had rejected out of hand the notion that Christ's body is simultaneously present in heaven and on earth according to different modes of being. He now reinterpreted the Reformed 'true' presence tradition in order to allow for this possibility. Nonetheless, he remained tied to his Reformed roots by still insisting that the only way to eat the eucharistic body, present according to an ineffable and mysterious manner, is faith (supra, p. 277). Whether or not this

latter statement is a logical contradiction of his belief in the essential oneness of the eucharistic body and the heavenly body is one matter. That Laud did not understand this to be the case is another one altogether. Like both Andrewes and Montague before him, Laud utilized "substantialist" language, but he was more explicit than they had been in speaking of a "substantial" presence on earth in the eucharist.

In the writings of Andrewes, Cosin, Montague, Forbes and Laud we find the claim that what is given in the eucharist is indeed the very body of Christ. This is coupled with their willingness to describe it in terms of the "substance" of Christ. At the same time, in various ways they rejected the notion that this meant His literal, physical body. Already in the sixteenth century this had been maintained by various defenders of the Reformed 'true' presence doctrine, notably by Calvin, whose writings, as we pointed out in the first chapter, had become popular in Anglican circles during the Elizabethan years, and whose teaching in this regard Laud explicitly cited. In his Institution, for example, Calvin taught that the communicant participates in the "substance" of Christ.¹¹⁴ While there may be some question as to what he positively meant by this term, it is certain that he did not mean the literal, physical body of Christ, which he understood to be finite and *not* to be present on earth in the earth.¹¹⁵ The Caroline divines, as Calvin had done, accepted the appropriateness of "substance" language, but unlike him, some of them were also willing to conceive of this substantial presence as being on earth.

This latter tendency was not unlike that found in the medieval 'realist' school. Thomas Aquinas, the great formulator of this 'realism' in terms of eucharistic theology had taught that Christ's

body is present in the earthly elements according to "substance". By 'substance', he understood the "heart of a thing underlying the sense appearances", as William Barden has described his teaching.¹¹⁶ The "substance" of Christ's body in the eucharist was for Thomas something which has no extension, is not visible, cannot be weighed, is not local, and is perceptible only to the intellect.¹¹⁷ Hardt has described this teaching as meaning that the reality of the sacrament exists only in the ideal world of thought: *Blott in tankens ideala värld existerar sakramentets verklighet.*¹¹⁸ The inspiration behind Thomas' doctrine of "substance" is, undoubtedly, the "Forms" of Plato, which Plato understood to be the objects of true knowledge, stable, abiding, the object of intelligence and not of sense.¹¹⁹

During the latter part of the sixteenth-century and first half of the seventeenth century, the English neo-Platonic revival, which was to culminate later in the century with the "Cambridge Platonists", was beginning. Platonism had coloured the Aristotelianism of Everard Digby (floruit 1590), and in 1599 Sir John Davies had published his philosophical poem *Nosce Teipsum*, utilizing Platonic as well as Aristotelian ideas.¹²⁰ Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, (1608-1643) was "the first Englishman to present in an original treatise the fundamental ideas which, later in the same century, bore riper fruit in the works of the Cambridge Platonists".¹²¹ Brooke understood "all the diversities of things - even space and time themselves" to be "without reality" and to be only appearance to our apprehension".¹²² Certain of the philosophical ideas of Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), were also forerunners to those of the Cambridge Platonic school.¹²³ Henry More (1614-1687), one of the first representatives of this school, took his degree at Christ's College in 1630 and began to study "the Platonic writers, Marsilius Ficinus, Plotinus himself, Mercurius Trismegistus,

and the mystical divines".¹²⁴ Others to be included in this school are Benjamin Whichcote (1609-1683), John Smith (1616-1652), Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Nathaniel Culverwel (1618-1651) and Peter Sterry (1613-1672), all of whom were Anglican priests.

It may be that this neo-Platonic revival occurring on the philosophical level during the seventeenth century is reflected in Caroline eucharistic theology. Perhaps it further encouraged the use of "substantialist" categories, which, of course, had been found in certain circles of Reformed the^eology (as well as in Roman and Lutheran theology) since the previous century. It may have lent support to that tendency found at times among the Caroline divines, to reject a presence of Christ's literal flesh and yet to affirm a "substantial" presence of it, even on earth. In this way the Platonic tendencies of the age may have inspired, at least in part, their eucharistic theology in a direction not so far removed from that of Aquinas. The relationship between philosophy and theology in the early seventeenth century is an area which requires research.¹²⁶

In Taylor's eucharistic theology we shall see a more obvious connection between his doctrine and the Platonic revival. Like the earlier Caroline divines he taught that the body received in the eucharist is Christ's body. In his 1654 The Real Presence, for example, he stated that there is only one body, natural, crucified and glorified, and that in the eucharist this body broken on the cross is present and received, "yet in another manner". When "fathers", such as Jerome, Clement of Alexandria and Ratramus, and Protestant divines denied that the eucharistic body is the body born of the Virgin and crucified on the cross, their meaning was only to deny that the body is eaten "in a natural sense", and they employed the term *corpus spirituale* to

express this understanding. When they identified the sacramental body as the body crucified, their intention was "to speak of the same thing in several manners of being and operating".¹²⁷ It "is really Christ's body, which is verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's Supper", he stated.¹²⁸

Taylor rejected, however, the Thomistic placement of Christ's body under the bread by means of the substance theory. It is essential, he argued, for a natural body to have one part without the other (*partem extra partem*). If the whole body were to be in the smallest piece of bread, how could the parts of the body be distinct? If there were no distinction of parts and none possessed its own portion of space, "a body [could] not be a body", and could not be distinguished from a spirit.¹²⁹ Taylor dismissed for several reasons Aquinas' assertion that the body of Christ is in the sacrament according to the manner of substance, and "so is whole in the whole".¹³⁰ To claim that a body is not there according to the nature of a body, but of substance, is "not sense", he asserted. Also, "to be in a place after the manner of substance, is not to be in a place at all: for 'substantia' hath in it no relation to a place, till it be specificated to a body or a spirit".¹³¹

He rejected the words, "corporeally", "substantially", "naturally", and "really",¹³² as improperly descriptive of the eucharistic presence when these were understood as meaning that Christ's body 1. is present in such a way as to be given to the mouths of communicants and to be chewed with the teeth,¹³³ and 2. is present "with the nature of a body" but in the manner of a spirit as distinguished from a body. He was explicit in what he saw as the Roman misunderstanding of a presence after the manner of spirits:

For he [Bellarmino] intends not (for all these fine words) that Christ's body is present spiritually, as the word is used in Scripture, and in all common notices of usual speaking; but spiritually, with him, signifies after the manner of spirits,- which, besides that it is a cozening the world in the manner of expression, is also a direct folly and contradiction, that a body should be substantially present, that is, with the nature of a body, naturally,- and yet be not as a body but as a spirit, with that manner of being with which a spirit is distinguished from a body.¹³⁴

What Taylor in the above passages wanted to exclude was any notion that the proper, literal flesh of Christ is invisibly and non-spatially present under the form of bread. His opposition to a presence of the "natural" or "corporeal" body of Christ in the eucharist on earth can be seen in his denial of either "actual" or "potential" ubiquity:

And I would fain know how it will be answered, that they attribute to the body of Christ, which is his own creature, the incommunicable attribute of unicity, either actually or potentially..... And if they think to escape by saying, that they do not attribute to it actual ubiquity, but potential,- that is, that though he be not, yet he may be every where; And then it will be altogether as bad as any thing can be imagined: for it makes the incommunicable attribute of God to be communicable to a creature: and not only so, but it is worse; for it makes that an actual creature may be a potential god, that is not a pure act,- a god that is not yet, but shall have a beginning in time.¹³⁵

Moreover, he understood heaven to be a place, and to be the place where Christ's body is located:

For Christ 'is ascended far above all heavens'; and, therefore, to say it is not in a place, or that there is not a place where Christ's body is, is a ridiculous absurdity. But if there be places for bodies above the highest heavens, then the highest heavens also is in a place, or may be for aught any thing pretended against it.¹³⁶

There are, Taylor argued, only three "natural proper ways of being in a place", "circumscriptive", "definitive" and "repletive". If the eucharistic presence were according to the first way, it could be on one altar and in one host only; if it were there definitively, it could

be only on the altar and nowhere else; the third manner, to be repletive, or in many places, was properly attributed to God alone and distinguished Him from His creatures. A fourth way, the "sacramental" mode, however, had been invented in order to explain the belief that Christ's body was in more than one place. If "sacramental" were understood to mean that the body is present "figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really *in effect and blessing*", its usage would be proper. A sacramental presence, however, is not a "natural, *real being in a place*, but a relation to a person", unlike the other three which were manners of location.¹³⁷ Christ is in heaven, and this meant that while He is still with the Church "by His Spirit", He is "not with us in body".¹³⁸

The key for understanding Taylor's teaching on the nature of Christ's body in the eucharist is the word "spiritual". The sacramental body is a spiritual body, i.e., Christ's body is present to the spirit of the communicant:

... by 'spiritually' we mean, 'present to our spirits only'; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith and spiritual susceptum They the Romans say, that Christ's body is truly present there, as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place:- that is, there spiritually. But we, by the real spiritual presence of Christ, do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.¹³⁹

This spiritual presence is, according to Taylor, also a "real presence", the meaning of which can be easily understood by anyone who believes the gifts of the Holy Spirit to be "real graces" and a spirit to be a "proper substance". As the "Hellenists" taught, τὰ νοητὰ are τὰ ὄντα; things discerned with the mind of man are "more truly and really such, and of more excellent substance and reality, than things only

sensible".¹⁴⁰ The spiritual presence of Christ is "the most true, real, and effective"; Christ is more truly and really attendant in spiritual presence and heavenly effect than in corporeal presence and natural being, Taylor argued. Because of this, "we [the Church of England] are, to the most real purposes, and in the proper sense of Scripture, the more real defenders of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament", he claimed.¹⁴¹

Taylor in one instance identified the "whatness" of eucharistic presence as the power or virtue of the body. The sacrament, he maintained, is "the sign of the body which is exhibited *in effect and spiritual power*".¹⁴² St. Paul's statement that "this bread is the communication of Christ's body" means the "exhibition and donation of it", not "formally", but "virtually and effectively"; the bread enables one to communicate "with Christ's body in all the effects and benefits", he asserted.¹⁴³ The word "spiritual" indicates that the Holy Spirit is acting upon the soul, but does not limit "the article to a minute and special manner". Negatively, the word excludes "the corporal and natural manner", Taylor argued. To claim that Christ is present spiritually means that He is present "by effect and blessing; which, in true speaking, is, rather the consequent of his presence than the formality".¹⁴⁴

A sense in which the word "substantial" might be appropriately applied to the presence, as some "protestants" did, was also conceded by Taylor. This, he acknowledged, "may be the same as that which is in the article of Trent; 'Sacramentaliter praesens Salvator substantia sua nobis adest,- In substance, but after a sacramental manner:'".¹⁴⁵ If these words are used to mean "really, truly, without fiction or the help of fance" and *in rei veritate*, as Philo called "spiritual things ἀναγκασιόταται οὐσίαι,- 'most necessary, useful, and material

substances'", they might become an instrument of a united confession.¹⁴⁶
 The substance of Christ's flesh is given "not to our mouths, but to our hearts; not to be chewed by teeth, but to be eaten by faith".¹⁴⁷

In Taylor's appeals to the "Hellenists" and to Philo, one can discern the influence of the Cambridge Platonists on his thinking, most probably in the person of Henry More. Already in 1642 More described himself as a follower of Plato and Plotinus.¹⁴⁸ In Taylor's later days he knew More well and that friendship may have begun already when he was an undergraduate at Cambridge.¹⁴⁹ Taylor's rejection of a presence of Christ's natural physical flesh in the eucharist in favour of a "substantial" presence which is "spiritual" bears similarities to More's distinction between the substance of matter, which is impenetrable (i.e., no particle of matter can be in the same place as another particle), and a "spiritual substance" which is penetrable.¹⁵⁰ Even though Taylor rejected Aquinas' localization of the presence of Christ's body *in the bread*, according to the manner of substance, he, like Thomas, understood the "what" of the eucharist to be something perceptible to the intellect only. Taylor may have been closer to Thomas' understanding of the nature of Christ's body in the eucharist than he realized, since the understandings of both men were grounded in Platonic thought. Taylor, however, combined this with his Reformed 'true' presence emphasis on a presence only in the *usus* of the eucharist and as something given to the heart and faith, not to the communicant's mouth and body.

Even a positive interpretation of "corporeal" was possible for Taylor, although he regarded this term to be the "hardest of explication". The expression "may be warrantable, and consonant to our [the Church of England] doctrine", if it were understood to mean no more than "really", "without fiction" and "beyond a figure". The Fathers used it to signify

"everything that is produced from nothing", as Phavorinus said, i.e., "everything that is real 'extra non ens', that hath a proper being". Th say that Christ is received "corporeally" or "bodily" is to affirm that Christ's body is present in the sacrament not only "in type or figure", but "in blessing and real effect" and by the ministry of the body received into the soul. Also the term can be used to indicate the corporeal or material sign or symbol only, as when Christ breathed on the apostles, saying, "receive ye the Holy Ghost".¹⁵¹ From these expositions of the words, "substantial" and "corporeal", it can be seen that Taylor could contenance the use of the terms only insofar as they would not contravene his rejection of a presence in the eucharist of Christ's natural, proper body.

A few years later in a letter dated 13 March 1657-58, Taylor explicitly stated that Christ's human nature is not the "what" of the sacrament: "We may render divine worship to him (as present in the blessed sacrament according to his human nature) without danger of idolatry: *because he is not there according to his human nature ...*".¹⁵²

In his 1660 The Worthy Communicant,^{/he} reiterated the distinction between the body of Christ itself and the eucharistic "body". While still maintaining that it is "truly Christ's body" in the sacrament,¹⁵³ Taylor, nevertheless, insisted that this did not mean the literal flesh of Christ crucified, resurrected and ascended to heaven, but rather the "blessings" and "graces" which come from it:

This body being carried from us into heaven, cannot be touched or tasted by us on earth; but yet Christ left to us symbols and sacraments of this natural body; not to be, or to convey that natural body to us, but to do more and better for us; to convey all the blessings and graces procured for us by the breaking of that body, and the effusion of that blood: which blessings, being spiritual, because procured by that body which died for us; and are therefore called our food, because by them we live a new life in the Spirit, and Christ is our bread and our life,

because by him, after this manner, we are
nourished up to life eternal.¹⁵⁴

In another passage, he expressedly identified the body and blood of
Christ present in the sacrament as their "power, virtue and efficacy":

For it is truly called the body of Christ because
here is joined with it the vital power, virtue and
efficacy of the body For by this means it
can very properly be called 'the body and blood of
Christ': since it hath not only the figure of his
death externally, but internally it hath hidden and
secret, the proper and Divine effect, the life-
giving power of his body: so that though it be a
figure, yet it is not merely so; not only the sign
and memorial of him that is absent, but it bears
along with it the very body of the Lord, that is,
the efficacy and Divine virtue of it.¹⁵⁵

It was in this sense that Taylor understood the patristic language of
"the intelligential, the invisible, the spiritual body" (Augustine),
"the Divine and spiritual flesh" (Jerome), "the celestial thing"
(Irenaeus), "the spiritual food and the body of the Divine Spirit"
(Ambrose).¹⁵⁶ The ancient doctors, he argued, used "nature" and
"substance", not in a "natural or philosophical" sense, but in a
"theological" sense, understanding nature to mean "the gracious effect
of his natural body" and substance to mean "the power of the
substance".¹⁵⁷

With regard to the "whatness" of the eucharistic presence,
therefore, Taylor clearly and unambiguously distinguished the literal,
physical body of Christ from that which is given in the sacrament. In
this he perpetuated the earlier Anglican heritage. At times he came
close to an understanding of the presence of Christ's body along
'realist' lines, which was undoubtedly influenced by the Platonic
revival of the Cambridge school. At other times he preferred simply
to speak of Christ's presence in terms of blessing, power, virtue and
efficacy coming from the body. The former approach would seem to
represent Taylor the "ontologist", the latter approach, Taylor the

"existentialist". The former answers the question of what is in the sacrament; the latter answers the question of what the communicant experiences in the sacrament. Taylor, it seems, accepted the legitimacy of both approaches and both questions.

In his 1659 Epilogue, Thorndike stated "that if one were to believe the "spiritual grace of Christ's Body and Blood" to possess the dimensions of the elements, so that they are there "bodily and materially" instead of "sacramentally and mystically", there would be no reason why the bodily elements should hinder the presence.¹⁵⁸ (The unspoken premise is that they are *not* present "bodily and materially".) If, Thorndike argued, the eating and drinking of Christ's flesh and blood outside the sacrament are spiritual through living faith, "shall not the presence thereof in the sacrament be accordingly". Would it not be enough that they are "mystically" present, to be eaten spiritually by those who receive with faith and to be "crucified" by those who did not communicate with faith, he asked.¹⁵⁹ Also:

Is it any pertinent to the spiritual eating of Them, that They are bodily present? Is it not far more proper to that which our Lord was about (tending, without question to the spiritual union which He seeks with His Church), that He should be understood to promise the mystical, than the bodily presence of Them in the sacrament, which is nothing else than a mystery by the proper signification and intent of it?¹⁶⁰

There is no need for the "bodily substance" of the flesh and blood to be present, since the "mystical presence" is a sufficient means to convey Christ's Spirit.¹⁶¹

It may be argued that Thorndike's denial of bodily presence was in fact only a denial of only a "crass" or "local" presence, particularly, since in the one passage he linked it with a "material" presence, but this would be saying too little. Thorndike, whatever he

positively understood by "bodily", was at least certain that he rejected what the Lutherans meant by their claim that the omnipresence of the Godhead is communicated to the flesh and blood so that they can be in the eucharist "not only mystically, but bodily". Certainly, he argued, the Lutheran insistence upon the bodily presence of both the earthly elements and the flesh and blood could make true the words of Jesus, "This is My Flesh - this is My Blood", but, he asked, "how much more, if, as I say, the elements only be there bodily, but the Flesh and Blood of Christ only mystically and spiritually?"¹⁶² Moreover, Thorndike explicitly rejected any idea that the "Manhood" of Christ is present in the eucharistic celebration "and so in the elements of it".¹⁶³ The body and blood of Christ do not fill the same dimensions of the bread and wine, as taught in the doctrine of "consubstantiation", Thorndike asserted in his 1662 Just Weights and Measures:

..... it [the doctrine which Thorndike held and which he ascribed to St; Gregory of Nyssa] condemns the error of transubstantiation, making the change mystical and immediate upon the coming of God's Spirit to the elements, the nature of them remaining: but it condemns consubstantiation no less; for what needs the Flesh and Blood of Christ fill the same dimensions, which the substance of the elements possesseth, both being united with His Spirit?¹⁶⁴

In the Epilogue, Thorndike included the theme of Christ's ascension and session in his argumentation against a presence of the literal body itself under the dimensions of the elements. The Scriptures, he argued, teach "of the true nature and properties of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, remainig in His Body, even now that It is glorified".¹⁶⁵ Acknowledging that there is "no place of God's right hand" to which the body is confined, and that this session is understood to mean that the man Christ is "put into the exercise of that Divine power and command which His mediator's office requires", he

nevertheless asserted, "yet His Body we must understand to be confined to that place, where the majesty of God appears to those that attend upon His throne".¹⁶⁶ The appearance of Christ to St. Paul (Acts 23: 11) was no exception to this. One might argue, he claimed, that the body left heaven and by a miracle stood over Paul,¹⁶⁷ but it was also possible that the very body of Christ appeared to Paul in "a vision of prophecy", "in the Spirit", without contravening the ascension. Thorndike concluded by stating: "... were it not madness to go about to limit the sense and effect of it [the ascension], upon pretence of a promise altogether impertinent to the occasion in hand, and every whit as properly to be understood without so limiting the sense of it".¹⁶⁸

He acknowledged the argument of Lutheran and Roman theologians¹⁶⁹ that while the body remains in heaven under its proper dimensions, it is also present in the eucharist "under the dimensions of the elements", whether the substance of bread remains or is abolished. This, he maintained, is a philosophical dispute concerning the power of God and whether a contradiction is implied thereby. Moreover, it involved an issue which he was "resolved not to touch at this time".¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, he urged his readers to consider whether evidence for the presence of the flesh and blood in the eucharist as required by consubstantiation and transubstantiation, which would void "the confining of Them to those dimensions, which the Scriptures allows Them in heaven", can be drawn necessarily out of the Scriptures (as the Scriptures necessarily obliged one to believe in the Holy Trinity), particularly since "it may be, more properly to the nature of the business, understood mystically as in a sacrament, intended to convey the communion of His Spirit".¹⁷¹ The man who submits his reason "to all that Christianity imports" can determine whether this kind of presence is "contradictory

to evidence of reason or not".¹⁷² The answer which Thorndike expected is fairly obvious.

His rejection of a presence in the sacrament of the "corporal substance" of Christ later found support in the new philosophy being popularised by John Locke (1632-1704). As we previously saw (supra, p.139), in his treatise The Reformation of the Church of England Better than that of the Council of Trent, written between 1670 and 1672, Thorndike raised the question of how a Roman theologian would respond to the claim of "our philosophy schools" that there are no "substantial forms of material substances" independent of those qualities or accidents which are concretely known (such as whiteness, bitterness, heaviness, etc.).¹⁷³ In other words, how can Christ's body be present in its "substance" without all the qualities by which one experiences it? Just about this time/^{/John} Locke was raising the question of whether it was legitimate to divide a thing into "substance" and "accidents" and whether "substance" isolated from its "accidents" meant anything positive.¹⁷⁴ Undoubtedly, this new philosophical tendency was grist to the mill of Thorndike's denial that Christ's "bodily substance", is present in the sacrament.

In continuity with the Anglican theological tradition, Thorndike perpetuated the distinction between the actual body of Christ in heaven and what is present in the eucharist, a distinction further strengthened by the new philosophy of Locke. While earlier Caroline divines had used "substantialist" language in their attempts to describe positively what is received in the sacrament, Thorndike did not do so. Rather, he emphasized, as we have seen in previous chapters, that it is the Holy Spirit who is present in the eucharist, "dwelling" in the sacramental elements, making them "mystically", "spiritually" and "sacramentally" Christ's body and blood. For Thorndike the body

and blood are the "what" of the sacrament only inasmuch as they are related to and filled by the same Spirit who is present in the eucharistic elements and is received by the communicant. In this respect, the Holy Spirit may be more appropriately described as the content of the sacramental presence in Thorndike's understanding than Christ's body and blood.

The question of exactly *what* is present and received in the sacrament is perhaps the most difficult aspect of eucharistic doctrine. If a theologian eliminates the literal eating of Christ's literal flesh according to a manner similar to eating a piece of bread, then he is faced with trying to explain or interpret what he means when he says that it *is* Christ's body which is truly or really received in the sacrament. This is a dilemma which Christian sacramental theology has had to face over the centuries. It is one which the Caroline theologians were acutely aware of and with which they struggled in their attempts to explicate the meaning of the sacrament. One should not be too surprised to find certain tensions, ambiguities and changes in their thinking in this regard.

The tradition which seventeenth-century Anglican theology had inherited from the previous century emphasized the concreteness of Christ's physical body even after the ascension and accepted the limitations which "nature" imposes upon such a body. Their understanding of Christ's eucharistic body was developed within the parameters set by this idea. All of the Caroline divines continued to distinguish in one way or another the eucharistic body from the glorified physical flesh of Christ. Nonetheless, among these seventeenth-century theologians one finds a willingness to conceive of some kind of identity between the body of Christ and what is received in the sacrament.

Saravia, in a non-speculative and what one might call, Lutheran fashion, affirmed the simultaneous presence of Christ's body in heaven and at the eucharist. Andrewes, Montague, Cosin, Forbes, Laud and Taylor used "substantialist" language in their descriptions of what is received in the sacrament. In so doing, they pushed beyond the language of sixteenth-century Anglican divines such as Jewel, Hooker and Rogers (supra, pp. 40,42,47). The combined influence of Calvin and the Platonic revival may well lie behind this development. In the case of the early Cosin, one^{/also} finds the direct utilization of Thomistic theology in this regard.¹⁷⁵ In Thorndike's thinking, at the end of the period dealt with, one sees a movement away from the categories of 'realist' philosophy and a return to a stricter distinction between Christ in heaven and the sacrament on earth, which was bridged in his thinking by the Holy Spirit being what one may call the *res* of the sacrament. Undoubtedly, the question of exactly what is present in the eucharist was one with which the Caroline divines struggled very hard.

FOOTNOTES

¹De Sacra Eucharistia, . pp. 30, 32.

²Contrast this emphasis with that of Calvin, who said that Christ might be said to have carried His body in His own hands at the institution only because the name of the thing signified was transferred to the sign, not because the bread was properly or substantially the body: *Item Christum se quodammodo gestasse suis manibus. Vel potius me tacente Augustinus calumniam a se depellet: quod propter similitudinem transferat nomen rei signatae ad externum symbolum: ac proinde panem vocet Christi corpus, non proprie et substantialiter, ut Heshusius garrit, sed secundum quendam modum. CR, 37: 502 (Dilucidia Explicatio).*

³De Sacra Eucharistia; p. 36.

⁴Ibid., p. 34.

⁵See also, Ibid., pp. 16, 34, 122. Nijenhuis has claimed that the

Swiss understood the 1536 Wittenberg Concord better than did Saravia, realizing that it was in fact a Lutheran statement and not an ecumenical confession founded on theological agreement. Adrianus Saravia, p. 368. This strengthens the argument that it was Saravia's goal to build unity on the basis of Lutheran eucharistic teaching. After citing Martin Bucer's 1536 letter to Bishop Edward Fox of Hereford, Saravia concluded 1. that Bucer testified to the correctness of Luther's judgement concerning the *Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Pane et Vino*, from which he (Bucer) did not dissent, and 2. that Oecolampadius and Zwingli did not deny the *Veram et Realem Praesentiam Corporis et Sanguinis in Eucharistia*. De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 150. Whether Luther would have been satisfied or not with this letter (see, Nijenhuis, Adrianus Saravia, p. 197), Saravia certainly saw the letter as conceding the correctness of Luther's eucharistic theology.

⁶Fundamenta, p. 168; The Lord's Supper, p. 157.

⁷De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 38; for the Latin text of Chrysostom's words, supra, pp. 185-86.

⁸Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 1009.

⁹This is the text given by Saravia. De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 122. The edition of the concord in the CR does not refer to the corporeal presence: *Et quanquam negant fieri transubstantiationem, nec sentiunt fieri localem inclusionem in pane, aut durabilem aliquam coniunctionem extra usum Sacramenti:CR*, 3: 75.

¹⁰De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 46.

¹¹Examinis, 2: 261; Examination, 2: 224. This may well suggest that Chemnitz' work was among those German Lutheran writings which Saravia had claimed to know. The reference to Luther by Chemnitz refers to his 1528 Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis where he argued that ubiquity only showed one way in which it was possible for God to bring it about that Christ's body can be both in heaven and in the sacrament. WA, 26: 318. Luther stated that even if Christ's body were in a particular place in heaven, it would still be possible for it to be in the eucharist on earth. Ibid., pp. 336-39. T. Sippell has rightly pointed out that although Saravia rejected the ubiquity doctrine, he did not regard it as impossible or impious. "Zur Abendmahlslehre des Anglo-katholizismus", Theologische Studien und Kritiken (106. Band/neuefolgel, 1934/35): 378.

¹²De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 38.

¹³Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶....*quoniam Deo nihil praeterit, nihil Deo abest, semper et ubique Deo praesens est Deo Patri Filii Sui, Domini nostri Jesu Christi, passio; aeternum (inquam) est illud sacrificium quod semel obtulit, tempore non effuxit nec elanguit; Atqui ut Deo illa sunt praesentia, ita illa nobis in Sacramento praesentia exhibentur. Et ita panis*

Eucharisticus est Corpus Christi crucifixum, vinum est Sanguis Domini fusus et manans ex Ipsius vulneribus, ut revera Christi Carnem edamus et bibamus Sanguinem. Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁸The important part of the passage from Calvin cited by Saravia asserted that communicants did not feed upon Christ truly and healthfully, except if it was on Christ as crucified: *Neque enim Christo vere et salubriter vescimur, nisi crucifixo, dum efficaciam mortis Ejus vivo sensu apprehendimus.* (*Ibid.*, p. 44; see also, *Institution*, 4: 17: 14) The passage from Musculus' *Loci Communes* given by Saravia contained the argument that Christ did not say that He would give His body which would rise again and which would sit at the Father's right hand, but that it was His body which would be given into death. The stated purpose of this argumentation by Musculus was to counteract the teaching that the exalted blood of Christ was corporeally present in the chalice: *Quomodo convenient Illi argumenta clarificationis quibus fratres probare conantur Sanguinem Christi corporaliter praesentem esse in calice.* (*De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 46. See also, Wolfgang Musculus, *Loci Communes Theologiae Sacrae* (Basilae: Per Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1578), p. 363. For the English translation, see, *Common Places of Christian Religion*, trans. John Man (London: Henry Bynnenman, 1578), p. 745.) After having appealed to Calvin and Musculus, Saravia stated that when men did not consider under what conditions the outward signs had a relation to the body and blood of Christ, errors of various kinds arose, i.e., transubstantiation and ubiquity. (*De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 46).

¹⁹*Non igitur Illud, quatenus est glorificatum, exhibit, nec ad Illud refertur. Inanis tamen Corporis gloriosi praesentia supernaturalis et divina, coelestis et spiritualis, videri non debet, quae quod proxime dignificat externum visibile signum exhibit. Ibid., p. 50.*

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 52, 54.

²¹*Adrianus Saravia*, p. 196.

²²*Sentiunt igitur et docent cum Pane et Vino Vere et Essentialiter Praesens adesse, exhiberi et sumi, Corpus et Sanguinem Christi. De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 122. Compare this text to the following : *.... cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus Christi et sanguinem. CR*, 3: 75.

²³Bucer, noting the problem caused by the word, interpreted it as meaning Christ Himself: *....Dominum non solum panem et vinum, sed cum Pane et Vino, Suam Corpus et Sanguinem Suum, Idque Corpus, et Eum Sanguinem praebuisse, Quae pro nobis immolavit in Cruce; hoc est, Seipsum Verum Vere eoque valet adverbium hoc (substantialiter) quo nonnulli frustra offendiuntur. De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 128.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 34.

²⁵See, e.g., Sasse, *This Is My Body*, p. 35. T. G. A. Hardt has argued that Luther understood the substance of Christ's body to mean the true and natural body of Christ, without any diluting of its corporality, and in so doing, he stood for the concrete, non-speculative,

non-philosophical popular devotion as found in the Nominalist or Occamist school of theology. Om Altarets Sakrament, pp. 26-29. See, e.g. Luther's 1526 Sermon von dem Sakrament where he argued that Christ's body can be in many places at the same time, and that while the bread is broken in many pieces, the bones of Christ are hidden in there, seen and recognised by none. WA, 19: 486-87. See also, Ibid., 26: 328-29; 23: 185, for similar ideas.

²⁶Works, 5: 68.

²⁷Ibid., 2: 305-306.

²⁸Ibid., p. 327.

²⁹Ibid., 3: 383.

³⁰Ibid., p. 60.

³¹W. Goode has argued this when he appealed to Archbishop Wake's observation on this passage from Andrewes' 1612 Easter sermon: ".... whatever this Bishop understood by the Real Presence, it could not be that Christ's glorified Body is now actually present in this sacred mystery" The Nature of Christ's Presence, 2: 816.

³²The Evangelical Doctrine of Holy Communion, p. 196.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Common Places of Christian Religion. trans. John Mann. (London: Henry Byneman, 1578), p. 745.

³⁵Works, MW: 17 (*Stricturae*). See also, du Perron, Replique à la Response, p. 71.

³⁶Replique à la Response, p. 780.

³⁷Works, RACB : 251.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., 3: 283.

⁴⁰The Nature of Christ's Body, 2: 819.

⁴¹This is how Peter Brooks has, on the basis of H. Grasse, Die Abendmahlslehre bei Luther und Calvin, described Calvin's teaching. See, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 69, ft. nt. 1. See Calvin Institution 4: 17: 5, 11, 19, 24 and 33.

⁴²Bishop Lancelot Andrewes. Jacobean Court Preacher (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1955), p. 146.

⁴³Works, 5: 131

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 155.

⁴⁵Thomas had taught that the *substantia* of Christ's body, which has no extension, is not visible, cannot be weighed, is not local, and is related to place by means of the accidents (of bread, in the case of the eucharist) is present in the sacrament. ST, 3a.76.5 and 7 and 8.

⁴⁶Disputationem, 2: 140.

⁴⁷*Quapropter, si proprie loquamur, falsae sunt hae omnes propositiones: Corpus Christi manducatur à nobis: Corpus Christi devoratur: Corpus Christi feritur: Corpus Christi frangitur: quia ipsi modi, qui significantur his verbis, non conveniunt corpori Christi, quod est in hoc Sacramento. Ibid., p. 144*

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 140-41.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 142, 155-56, 161.

⁵⁰For discussions of these two traditions, see, Hardt, Om Altarets Sakrament, pp. 23-29 and Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice, pp. 415-20.

⁵¹*Substantia autem, inquantum hujusmodi, non est visibilis oculo corporali, neque subjacet alicui sensui, neque imaginationi sed soli intellectui, 'cujus objectum est quod quid est', ut dicitur in 'De Anima'. (ST, 32.76.7.) ...corpus Christi ... in hoc sacramento, neque sensu neque imaginatione perceptibile est; sed solo intellectu, qui dicitur oculus spiritualis. (Ibid., 3a.76.8).*

⁵²In this sense the Thomist and Reformed schools of thought were more closely related to each other than they were to the Lutheran one, which stood in the Nominalist tradition (supra, pp. 359-60, ft.nt. 25).

⁵³Works, 1: 283.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 271.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 274.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 271.

⁵⁸Ibid., 4:48-49; See also, 4: 50: ... neque negamus Corpus et Sanguinem Christi sacramentaliter uniri cum pane et vino Eucharistico, aut vere, realiter, et substantialiter usurpari in sacramento

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 44.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 50. This idea seems to be an intrusion, solitary and unintegrated, of the medieval Nominalist way of speaking about the presence of Christ in the sacrament. The Nominalists, it must be remembered, unlike the Thomists, affirmed in principle the possibility of seeing Christ in the sacrament should God drop the veils of bread and wine. Clark, Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation, pp. 416 ff.; Hardt, Venerabilis Adorabilis Eucharistia, pp. 19 ff.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁶³Ibid., p. 58.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 42-44. Cosin cited as an example of this wrong understanding of a spiritual presence, Berengarius' Recantation at the Roman Council under Pope Nicholas. For the text of this recantation, see, Henry Denzinger, *et alii*, Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum, 32nd ed. (Barcinoni: Herder, 1963), p. 227 (No. 690).

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 41.

⁶⁶A New Gagg, P. 250.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸A Dangerous Plot Discovered by a Discourse, Wherein is proved, that Mr. Richard Mountague, in his two Bookes; the one called 'A New Gagg'; the other, 'A Just Appeale'; Laboureth to bring in the Faith of 'Rome', and 'Arminius': under the name and pretence of the doctrine and the faith of the Church of England (London: Nocholas Bourne, 1626), pp. 91-93.

⁶⁹A New Gagg, p. [D2 (R)].

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., p. [D3 (R)].

⁷²Ibid., p. 252.

⁷³Considerationes, 2: 388.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 398; See also, Goldast, Politica Imperialia, p. 1306.

⁷⁵Considerationes, 2: 418.

⁷⁶It is slightly ironical that Forbes thought of Calvin's doctrine as uncertain, doubtful and slippery (*incerta et dubia atque lubrica*) because he tried to please both the Lutheran and Zwinglian parties, and came to consensus with the ministers of Zurich. Ibid., pp. 386-88.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 422.

⁷⁸Ibid. Compare Forbes' defence, ostensibly on behalf of the Lutherans, Romans and Orthodox (the last inasmuch as he believed them to have accepted transubstantiation) with Calvin's insistence that the Lutheran, Heshusius, was necessarily teaching a local presence: *Certe vel stultitia vel malitia hominis hoc uno coarguitur, quod nullam nisi localem praesentiam admittit. Physicam neget licet, de hoc etiam cavilletur, sistit tamen corpus Christi ubicunque est panis, et proinde contendit pluribus simul esse locis, Vocem hanc quando usurpare non dubitat, cur non dicetur praesentia localis ad quam nos trahit?* CR, 37: 479 (*Dilucidia Explicatio*).

⁷⁹Considerationes, 2: 426.

⁸⁰Ibid. See also, D. Zacharias Ursinus, Opera Theologica, Tributa in Tomos Tres (Heidelbergae: Typis Johannis Lancelloti Acad. Typog. Impensis Ioniae Rosae, 1612), 2: 153-55.

⁸¹Considerationes, 2: 426.

⁸²CR, 33: 451 (Petit Traicté).

⁸³Ibid., 37: 476 (Dilucida Explicatio).

⁸⁴Considerationes, 2: 428, 430; see also, e.g., Peter Martyr, Disputatio de Eucharistiae Sacramento, habita in celeberrima Universitate Oxonien in Anglia, 1549 (Londini: aeneum serpentem, 1549), pp. 61 (R)-61 (V), 64 (R).

⁸⁵*Utrumque tamen istud plurimis Philosophis et Theologis doctissimis in natura aeque absurdum et impossibile, et Deo tamen possibile esse videtur.* Considerationes, 2: 428. For a defence of the possibility of transubstantiation on similar grounds, see, p. 444.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 434, 436. See also, John Case, Lapsis Philosophicus seu Commentarius in 8^o lib phys:Arist: in quo arcana physiologiae examinantur auctore Io:Caseo (Oxford: Ioseph Barnes, 1599), pp. 431-32 (lib. 4, cap. 3).

⁸⁷Considerationes, 2: 436.

⁸⁸That Forbes understood Christ's body to be in a place in heaven is suggested by his criticism of a statement of Martin Bucer which asserted that Christ's session was not to be compared with the conditions of this world and was not to be thought of in terms of places. See, Scripta Anglicana, p. 702. Concerning Bucer's position, Forbes said, *Sibi tamen non semper satis constare videtur Bucerus, ut neque etiam recte dubitare, quid vel ubi coelum illud sit, in quod Christum ascendisse credimus.* Considerationes, 2: 392.

⁸⁹*... in aliis etiam, quae non adeo clare nobis patefacta sunt, infinitam tamen Dei potentiam non nimis coarctare et restringere ad communem naturae cursum et rationis nostrae captum.* Ibid., pp. 444, 446.

⁹⁰Works, 3: 141. The student has searched for this tract, but without success. It may be that the tract has not survived; if it does still exist, the anonymity of its title and of its author is keeping its location well hidden. Laud's remark that the author was a Cappuchin at the French embassy in 1622 is even more puzzling, since it appears that the first Cappuchins in England came in 1630, several to Queen Henrietta's court and two to the French embassy. For their names and a discussion of these men, see, Martin J. Havran, The Catholics in Caroline England (Stanford: University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 55-56, 168.

⁹¹Laud, Works, 7: 619 (Appendix).

⁹²Ibid., p. 620.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 619.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷A reference ostensibly to Conrad Schluesselburge (1543-1619), a Lutheran divine who fought against Calvinism. Among his works are included, Haereticorum Catalogus (1597-99; 13 vols.) and Theologia Calvinistarum, das ist, Lehr, Glaub und Bekenntnuss der Sacramentirer (1596).

⁹⁸Works, 7: 619.

⁹⁹...ὅν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δεῖξασθαι ἀρχὴ χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. (Acts, 3: 21). Novum Testamentum Graece, E. Nestle & K. Aland, ed., (London: United Bible Societies, 1971).

¹⁰⁰Works, 6: 57.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 2: 329.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 329-30, ft.nt. k.; Bellarmine, Opera.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰⁴Works, 2: 330, ft.nt. k.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.; "... under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward sense, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, which was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption. And that under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very same substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament." Lloyd, Formularies of Faith, p. 100. (This article may in fact be more of a Lutheran, than a Roman, document.) Laud also associated the recantation of Berengarius (1059) with transubstantiation; it was a "grievous scandal" to the Church and showed that this "gross opinion" of transubstantiation had obtained some footing in the Church "two blind ages" before the 1215 Lateran Council. (Works, 2: 365, ft.nt. b). Laud seems to have been appalled at what he regarded as the gross language of this confession which he associated with the corporeal presence.

¹⁰⁶Works, p. 330, ft.nt. k; ST, 3a.76.4.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 325-27.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 327-28.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 330.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 326-27, ft.nt. d. The texts given by Laud are: *Caeterum his absurditatibus sublatis, quicquid ad exprimendam veram substantialemque corporis ac sanguinis Domini communicationem, quae sub sacris Coenae Symbolis fidelibus exhibetur, facere potest, libenter recipio...* (See also, Institution, 4:17:19); and, *...in Coenae mysterio, per symbola panis et vini Christus vere exhiberi... participes substantiae Ejus Facti...* (See also, Institution, 4:17:11).

¹¹¹He did so in his acceptance of the 1640 canons and in his History of the Troubles and Tryal (supra, pp. 210-11).

¹¹²History of the Eucharist, 2: 268.

¹¹³Works, 2: 322-23.

¹¹⁴Institution, 4:17:11, 19.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 4:17:26; see also Dilucidia Explicatio in CR, 37:475-76, 502. For a discussion of what Calvin understood by the term "substance", see McDonnell, John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist, p. 232.

¹¹⁶ST, 3a.73-78 (Vol. 58, p. 216 in the Glossary).

¹¹⁷Ibid., 3a.76.5, 7, 8. Aquinas was forced to reject even the possibility of Christ's natural body being seen in the host.

¹¹⁸Om Altarets Sakrament, p. 25.

¹¹⁹Frederick Copleston, A History of Philosophy, rev.ed. 9 vols. (Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1962), 1 (Part 1): 188; Hardt, Om Altarets Sakrament, pp. 23-27.

¹²⁰W. R. Sorley, A History of English Philosophy (Cambridge: University Press, 1920), pp. 41-43.

¹²¹Ibid., p. 43.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Copleston, A History of Philosophy, 5 (Part 1): 62.

¹²⁴W. R. Inge, The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1926), p. 55.

¹²⁵Copleston, A History of Philosophy, 5 (Part 1): 63.

¹²⁶A great deal of work needs to be done both in terms of the history of philosophy and in terms of the relationship between philosophy and theology during the earlier part of the century. Unfortunately, this student did not have the time to explore it further.

¹²⁷Works, 9: 431.

¹²⁸Ibid., 10: 60.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 33.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 34. Aquinas, for example, wrote, ... *corpus Christi est in hoc sacramento per modum substantiae, id est per modum quo substantia est sub dimensionibus: non autem per modum dimensionum, id est non per illum modum quo quantitas dimensiva alicujus corporis est sub quantitate dimensive loci. Manifestum est autem quod natura substantiae tota est sub qualibet parte dimensionum sub quibus continetur ...* ST, 3a.76.3. ... *ideo quantitas dimensiva corporis Christi est in hoc sacramento, non secundum proprium modum, ut scilicet sit totum in toto et singulae partes in singulis partibus, sed per modum substantiae, cujus natura est tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte.* ST, 3a.76.4.

¹³¹Works, 10: 34-35.

¹³²"...and when the real presence is denied, the word 'real' is taken for 'naturally'; and does not signify 'transcendenter', or, in his just and most proper signification." Ibid., 9:427; 10:9.

¹³³Ibid., 10: 427-28.

¹³⁴Ibid., 9: 428. For Bellarmine's discussion of "spiritual" and "corporeal" presence, see, Opera, 4: 8-9. Aquinas also had explicitly identified the eucharistic presence as a non-visible presence in the way of a spirit: *Ad quartum dicendum quod ratio illa procedit de praesentia corporis Christi prout est praesens per modum corporis, id est prout est in sua specie visibilis: non autem spiritualiter, id invisibiliter, modo et virtute spiritus.* ST; 3a.75.2.

¹³⁵Works, 10:32.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 51.

¹³⁷Ibid., pp. 32-33 [emphasis is mine].

¹³⁸Ibid., 9: 510. Taylor repudiated that understanding of the eucharist which would have Christ's true, proper body present by means of a miracle on the earthly altar and to be received bodily. Ibid., 10: 24-25 and 9: 511-12.

¹³⁹Ibid., 9: 428-29.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 425.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 426.

¹⁴²Ibid., 10: 91.

¹⁴³Ibid., 9: 473.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 423.

¹⁴⁵*Neque enim haec inter se pugnant, ut ipse Salvator noster semper ad dexteram Patris in coelis assideat iuxta modum existendi naturalem, et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter praesens sua substantia nobis adsit, ea existendi ratione, quam etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo, cogitatione per fidem illustrata, assequi possumus et constantissime credere debemus.* Canones et Decreta, p. 59 (Sess. XIII, c. I).

¹⁴⁶Works, 9: 427.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 427-28.

¹⁴⁸He did this in his A Platonic Song of the Soul, afterwards included in his Philosophical Poems (1647). Sorley, A History of English Philosophy, p. 78.

¹⁴⁹Stranks, The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor, pp. 38, 243, 248.

¹⁵⁰Sorley, A History of English Philosophy, p. 83. More taught this in his 1659 The Immortality of the Soul. Although written four years after Taylor's The Real Presence, it undoubtedly expresses ideas which More held long before the writing of this particular treatise. Already in his 1652 The Antidote, More was distinguishing "spiritual substances" from corporeal matter. McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 9: 429-30.

¹⁵²Ibid., 11: 212 (from Three Letters Written to A Gentleman That Was Tempted to the Communion of the Romish Church, published 1673. [emphasis is mine]).

¹⁵³Ibid., 15: 410.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 422. Similarly, Taylor wrote: "And then the bread of life and the body of Christ, and eating his flesh and drinking his blood, are nothing else but mysterious and sacramental expressions of this great excellence, that whoever does this, shall partake of all the benefits of the cross of Christ, where his body was broken, and his blood poured forth for the remission of our sins, and the salvation of the world." Ibid., p. 531.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 528-29.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 529.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Works, 4: 22 (Epilogue).

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹"... but how is it requisite, that they be there in bodily substance, as if the mystical presence of Them were not a sufficient means to convey His Spirit, Which we see is conveyed by the mere spiritual consideration and resolution of a lively and effectual faith?" Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., 5: 173-74. Thorndike claimed that there was not much difference between the "miracle" of consubstantiation and that of transubstantiation, since the hypostatical union contributed no more to one than to the other. Ibid., 4: 47.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 4: 47.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁶⁷Both Lutherans and Romans used this in their defence of a bodily presence. See, e.g., Martin Chemnitz, The Two Natures in Christ, ed., J.A.O. Preus (St. Louis & London: Concordia Pub. House, 1971), pp. 431-32. (Unfortunately, the Latin text was not available to the student) Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 135 (De Sacra Eucharistia). See, Thorndike, Works, 4: 48, ft.nt. y for the citation of these references.

¹⁶⁸Works, 4: 48-49. For a similar argument, see, Ridley, Works, p. 220 (Disputation at Oxford).

¹⁶⁹See, e.g., Chemnitz, Fundamenta, p. 58, and Bellarmine, Opera, 4: 137 (De Sacra Eucharistia), and Thorndike, Works, 4: 49, ft.nt. z.

¹⁷⁰Works, 4: 49-50. The reasons given by Thorndike for his refusal to debate this point were 1. because these philosophical disputes tended to "puzzle" rather than to "edify the main of those that speak English", and 2. because the one who claimed that it was impossible or a contradiction for God to effect a bodily presence both in heaven and in the eucharist on earth opened himself up to the accusation that one should also abandon faith in the Holy Trinity for the same reason.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid., 5: 547.

¹⁷⁴Copleston, A History of Philosophy, 5 (Part 1): 78; R. I. Aaron, John Loche (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 168 ff.; John Loche, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, ed. & intro. P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 298-99.

¹⁷⁵It has been claimed by Hardt that there is a deep similarity between Aquinas' and Calvin's understandings of what is present in the sacrament. (This is found in an unpublished English work of his based on his doctoral dissertation, entitled On the Sacrament of the Altar,

p. 19.) If this is true, it may mean that Cosin's movement toward Thomistic eucharistic theology was not such a radical jump out of the Reformed tradition as one may think.

VII: THE CONSECRATION

Given the Caroline belief in a presence of Christ in the eucharist, the question naturally arises as to *how* this presence is effected. What did these theologians regard as the means for making bread and wine into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood? How did they understand the blessing, or sanctification, or consecration of the elements to take place? Before we attempt to answer these questions, however, we must be aware of two features of the Anglican eucharistic tradition which are significant for our consideration of this issue. First, the actual communion rite of 1604, following the Elizabethan rite, contained a prayer of thanksgiving asking God to grant that those who receive the bread and wine "may be partakers of [Christ's] most blessed body and blood". The prayer concluded with the recitation of the words of institution, after which the distribution of the elements was immediately ordered.¹ Secondly, the Canons of 1604 (from the 1604 Hampton Court Conference, ratified by Convocation the same year) identified the words of Christ as the minimum for the effecting of the sacrament when they stated, "Furthermore, no Bread or Wine newly brought shall be used; but first the words of Institution shall be rehearsed, when the said Bread and Wine be present upon the Communion table."² If it is true that the liturgy originally had been "carefully worded so as not to express any special theory of consecration while consecrating the sacrament",³ the Canons, nonetheless, were founded upon the western Catholic belief, going back as far as St. Ambrose of Milan, that the words of Christ are words of consecration.

The moment of consecration became of supreme importance in the

twelfth century in association with the elevation and adoration of the host.⁴ In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas taught that the words, *Hoc est corpus meum* and *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, are sufficient for the consecration of the eucharist when spoken by a priest having the intention to consecrate.⁵ The doctrine that the specific moment of consecration is located in the institution narrative was maintained in the 1570 Missal promulgated by Pius V by means of the elevation and genuflexions connected with its recitation.⁶

Sixteenth-century Lutherans, likewise, identified the sanctification of the elements with Christ's words. Luther, for example, compared the eucharistic consecration to the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; as soon as Christ says, "This is My Body", the body is present through the word and power of the Holy Spirit:

*Da kan yhe niemand anders sagen, denn das die drafft
durchs wort kompt. Wie man nu das nicht leugnen
kan, das sie so durchs wort schwanger wird, und
niemand weis, wie es zu gehet, so ist es hie auch.
Denn so bald Christus spricht 'Das ist mein leib',
so ist sein leib da durchs wort und krafft des
heyligen geists. Wenn das wort nicht da ist, so
ist es schlecht brod; aber so die wort da zu komen,
bringen sie das mit, davon sie lauten.*

The Konkordienformel, in describing the means of consecration, stated that while the power of no man's word or merit can effect the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, yet, because of the almighty power of God and the word, institution and ordinance of Christ, wherever the Supper is observed according to Christ's institution and wherever His words are used, the body and blood are present, distributed and received by virtue of the same words which were spoken at the first Supper.⁸ Yngve Brilioth has commented in his *opus*, Eucharistic Faith and Practice, that in the Konkordienformel one finds "in effect the Roman idea of words of consecration, which must be said over the elements". In the seventeenth century, German Lutherans

generally continued to use the sign of the cross over the elements together with the sacring bell, as well as falling on their knees at the words of institution, he lamented.⁹

The Reformed churches, unlike the Roman and Lutheran, dissociated the blessing or benediction of the bread and wine from the recitation of the words of Christ. None of the classical liturgies of the Reformed churches contained them as the consecration of the elements, but as "a historical narrative addressed to the people".¹⁰ They were understood as being the Scriptural warrant for the eucharistic celebration, to show that apostolic practice was being followed,¹¹ while a prayer of thanksgiving blessed or set apart the elements.¹² The Genevan Service Book of 1556 described the use of Christ's words like this:

The wordes of the lordes supper we rehearce theym not bicawse they shuld chaunge the substaunce of the bread or wyne, or that the repeticion thereof with the intent of the sacrificer should make the sacrament as the papistes falselie beleue: but they are read and pronounced to teache vs how to behauue our selues in this action and that Christe might witnes vnto ovr faithe as it were with his owne mowthe, that he hath ordayned these signes for our spirituall vse and comferte.¹³

The 1604 Canons, then, were based on an understanding which had far more in common with Roman and Lutheran teaching than it did with that of other churches professing a Reformed doctrine of the sacrament. Moreover, they were re-affirming in this matter only what had already been an issue in the famous "Johnson Case" of 1573. Robert Johnson, having run out of wine during the administration of communion, sent for more, and distributed it without repeating the appropriate portion of the institution narrative. He was tried for this before the Queen's commissioners and, despite his appeals to the teaching of Cranmer, was found guilty and duly convicted. Richard Buxton has rightly pointed

out that this case expressed the Elizabethan Church's understanding that the words of institution are necessary to make the sacrament; they are spoken not only for the benefit of the people but for the bread and wine as well.¹⁴ That this took place, however, by means of a judicial decision, rather than by an acknowledged legislative process is rather odd, Buxton has argued, and raises the questions of how widely the case was known and how widely its decision was accepted as the norm. None of the visitation articles and injunctions of the Elizabethan years required supplementary consecration.¹⁵ This became the canonical norm in the English Church only with the acceptance of the 1604 Canons, thus making the official Anglican position similar to that found in many sixteenth-century Lutheran Church Orders.¹⁶

A couple of years after the promulgation of the Canons, Saravia taught that the consecration concerns what happens to the earthly elements. The bread by consecration, he stated, becomes the sacrament of Christ's body (*Quod panis consecratione fit Sacramentum Corporis Christi, nemo ni fallor negare potest...*).¹⁷ Neither the communicant's faith, nor his piety, causes the divine mysteries to be divine mysteries or holy things: *Fides nostra pietasve non efficit ut Divina Mysteria, vel Mysteria sint, vel sancta sint.*¹⁸

St. Ambrose, Saravia argued, taught that it is the almighty word of God which makes sacraments to be what they signify and to confer what they promise: *Probat toto illo capite verbi omnipotentiam efficere ut Sacramenta sint quod significant, et conferant quod promittunt.*¹⁹ Taking into consideration both Saravia's utilization of Lutheran eucharistic theology, as we have seen, and the fact that the 1604 Canons were issued only shortly before he wrote *De Sacra Eucharistia*, this statement probably indicates that he regarded the words of Christ as the

form of consecration, an idea supported by other passages, such as, *Postquam igitur Ambrosius pluribus exemplis docuit Verbi Dei potentiam natura rerum potentioorem....*²⁰ In addition, he quoted St. Chrysostom's words that Christ Himself is the consecrator in the Church's celebration of the sacrament.²¹ Saravia, however, also cited (but quite incidentally) a passage attributed to Augustine which states that the fruits of the earth are consecrated by mystical prayer (*prece mystica consecratum*) to be the body and blood of Christ and that it requires the invisible operation of the Spirit of God, in addition to man's bodily action, for the sanctification of so great a sacrament: *Quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducitur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum Sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei, cum haec omnia, quae per corporales motus in illo opere fiunt, Deus operatur.*²² The context in which these statements of Saravia were made was his argument against transubstantiation, and the question of whether sacramental change necessarily includes the elimination of the bread's substance was his main concern. With regard to the sanctification of the elements, therefore, he accepted the teaching that through the consecration, bread and wine are made into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, but he was not explicit as to the precise form of this operation.

While Andrewes provided no elaborate description of the sanctification of the eucharist, he included in his 1610 argumentation against Bellarmine several statements which affirm the importance of the word of God in the sacrament. At the coming of the almighty word, nature is changed, he claimed, and a bare element is made into a divine sacrament: *Accedente enim verbi omnipotentia, naturam mutari, ut, quod ante nudum elementum erat, divinum jam fiat Sacramentum....*²³ There may have been

an intentional ambiguity in Andrewes' use of "word". On the one hand, he may have meant that Christ Himself is the sanctifier of the eucharist. Support for this interpretation can be found in his Preces Privatae Quotidianae, which includes the following prayer taken from the Divine Liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil:

Πρόσχες, Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου
κατοικητηρίου, καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης
τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ
ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς. Ὁ ἄνω τῷ Πατρὶ
συγκαθήμενος καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως
συνῶν, ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι τὰ
προκείμενα δῶρα, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν, καὶ δι'
ὧν, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς προσκομίζονται.²⁴

This prayer, intended to be said prior to the reception of holy communion, was addressed to Christ in Eastern Orthodox usage, and in Andrewes' manual, it also forms part of a series of prayers directed to Christ.

On the other hand, Andrewes may have meant that the word of Christ, i.e., the words of institution, sanctifies the eucharist. This interpretation is suggested by his use of St. Ambrose's teaching against Bellarmine: *Ambrosio enim, non aliter ibi, Christi vel benedictio, vel sermo, operatur, quam 'ut sint quod erant, et in aliud commutentur'*.²⁵ More importantly, it is strongly supported by Andrewes' Visitation Articles for the diocese of Ely in 1610 (the same year as the Responsio), in which he specifically asked (in accordance with the 1604 Canons) whether the priest uses "any bread and wine newly brought, before the words of institution be rehearsed, and the bread and wine present on the altar".²⁶ From his enforcement of the canonical standard, it seems fair to conclude that he accepted the identification of "the almighty power of the word" with the recitation of the words of institution.²⁷

Six years later in his Whitsunday sermon, Andrewes taught that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are involved in the sacrament, filling

it with divine power:

And so receiving it, He that breathed [Christ],
and He That was breathed [the Holy Spirit], both
of them vouchsafe to breathe into those holy
mysteries a Divine power and virtue, and make
them to us the bread of life, and the cup of
salvation; God the Father also sending His
blessing upon them, that they may be His blessed
means of this trice-blessed effect.²⁸

This Trinitarian framework in which Andrewes placed the action of God in the eucharist may reflect the Eastern Orthodox liturgical tradition (with which he was familiar), with its eucharistic canon involving the three Divine Persons and its various prayers directed to Father, Son and Holy Spirit after the consecration.²⁹ To say that the Holy Spirit "breathes into these holy mysteries" could suggest the epiclesis of the Orthodox liturgy, or it might simply indicate the common belief held by western theologians, as well as by easterners, that the Spirit is involved in the blessing and action of the sacrament.³⁰

Turning to Cosin, one again finds, during his early years, the traditional western understanding of consecration. In the first series of notes on the Prayer Book, he commented, "That there is to be a certain form of words wherewith the Sacrament is to be made and consecrated, we make no doubt;...".³¹ It was "calumny", he asserted, to accuse the Church of England of doing "nothing else but *recitare historiam*, tell the story of Christ's Institution, and so go to it". In the Prayer Book service, the Church first recites Christ's command to have his death and passion remembered,³² she then prays that she might perform it as she ought,³³ and "After that we have the words of consecration, as fully and amply as any priest whatsoever can or may use them. The Mass-book hath no more than we have here...".³⁴ As can be seen, Cosin identified the consecration with the *verba Christi*

in the traditional Latin fashion. He also mentioned the disputes engaged in by those "that have leisure", concerning "with what words this consecration is perfected" and whether it is accomplished by the prayers before or after the words of Christ. The Church of England, he maintained, was content to abide by the teaching of SS. Cyprian, Ambrose and Chrysostom, which identifies the words of Christ as the consecration.³⁵ Moreover, when the Latins taught that the eucharist is consecrated by prayer, they did not mean every prayer, but meant either the whole service and action, or the *verba Christi*, which are recited in the form of prayer.³⁶ Cosin doubted whether the Calvinists (the puritans "at Geneva and elsewhere") had a genuine sacrament, since "they do boldly deny any words of mystical consecration at all".³⁷ Given the friendliness exhibited in these notes toward Roman Catholic eucharistic teaching (as we have seen in previous chapters), it is not altogether surprising that Cosin's understanding of consecration approximated that of Rome.

In the uncondensed version of Cosin's East Riding archdiaconal Articles of 1627,³⁸ he affirmed that there is a specific form of consecration which he identified with the words of institution: "5. Doth he reverently bless and consecrate the Elements of Bread and Wine, that they may become the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Bloud?" and "6. Whether doth he use any Bread and Wine that is newly brought, before it be presented upon the Holy Table, and by the words of institution blessed and designed to that sacred use?"³⁹ The same identification of Christ's word as the effective and creating instrument is found in Cosin's 1647 tract on transubstantiation, in which he stated, "And this change in the bread is wrought only by the Almighty power of His Word, because He only can adde and give unto it this dignity, power, and efficacie...".⁴⁰

During the 1640s and 50s when he was writing the second series of notes on the Prayer Book, Cosin's views underwent a slight modification or, one might say, expansion. In the general introduction to the eucharistic rite in these notes, he set down the teaching that consecration is effected both by the words of institution *and* prayer: ... *deinde surgens celebrans per preces et recitationem verborum Domini quibus Sacram Suam Coenam instituerit, panem et vinum coram posita reverenter in Sacramentum consecrat.....*⁴¹ This emphasis on both prayer and the words of institution is, it would seem, more reflective of the communion rite itself, which does not distinguish any particular part (i.e., the *verba Christi*) of the consecratory prayer as being the consecration in and of itself.

In a letter written in 1650, Cosin expressed a very tolerant attitude concerning the form of consecration. Having been asked whether the French Reformed Churches had a real consecration, he responded by stating that whether one understands it as accomplished by prayers and invocations, in the Greek Orthodox manner, or whether by repetition of the words of Christ, in the Latin fashion, "it cannot be denied that these French Churches have them both". This could be seen, he said, in their service books "though disposed after another order than ours is". In addition, "if it be *idem*, though it be *idem alio modo*, it alters not the substance or nature of the thing itself".⁴² In at least one instance, then, Cosin was willing to countenance a legitimate and efficacious consecration, regardless of the form, in the major Christian churches, Roman, Lutheran, Orthodox and Reformed. His positive assessment of the Reformed service, in particular, was markedly different from that found in the first series of notes on the Prayer Book.

Two years later in his Regni Angliae Religio Catholica, he taught that through the solemn prayers containing the words of institution, together with the action of breaking bread and pouring wine into the chalice, the celebrant consecrates the elements into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood:

Deinde, sese erigens [the priest], per preces solennes institutionem Sacramenti, et ipsa Christi instituentis verba continentes, panem in manus acceptum frangens, vinumque in calicem effundens, utrumque symbolum benedicit, atque in⁴³ Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi consecrat.

In the 1656 Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis, Cosin asserted that it is not faith which creates the presence, but the word of Christ: *Quae tamen fides praesentiam istam non facit, aut praestat; sed, jam nunc per verbum Christi factum, verissimam et realem esse apprehendit.*⁴⁴ In another passage, he identified this "word of Christ" with the "words of Christ": *... per verba Christi, solenniter consecrata, ut communicationi Corporis et Sanguinis Sui certissime inserviat.*⁴⁵ Cosin included St. Ambrose's response to the question of how the bread can also be the body of Christ. The answer: *Consecratione*. The sacrament is brought about (*conficiatur*) by this consecration through the words of the Lord.⁴⁶ Ambrose extolled the power of the word of Christ which can make bread and wine remain what they are and yet become what they were not, i.e., the body and blood of Christ, after the consecration.⁴⁷ Despite this emphasis on the words of institution, Cosin again connected them with prayer; Christ, he argued, sanctified the elements by words and prayer (*Christus sacra symbola verbis Suis et precibus sanctificata*).⁴⁸ The Church's presbyters, he claimed, also make common bread to become sacramental by prayer and blessing (*ad presbyterorum preces et benedictiones*).⁴⁹

In his 1661 Durham Book recommendation of changes in the

communion office, he suggested that before the words of institution there be placed an epiclesis reading, "... and by ye power of thy holy Word and Spirit vouchsafe so to blesse & sanctifie thy Gifts & Creatures of Bread & Wine that we receiving them according to thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution... may be made partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood".⁵⁰ This was similar to the epiclesis found in the 1549 eucharistic canon and the 1637 Scottish Liturgy.⁵¹ With regard to a supplementary consecration, however, Cosin was content to maintain the position of the 1604 Canons, stating that, if more bread should be needed after the consecration, the priest was to "consecrate the same, as is before appointed, beginning at the words [When Christ in ye same night &c] for ye blessing of the Bread; & at [Likewise after Supper &c] for the blessing of the Cup".⁵² The combination of a suggestion for an epiclesis and the insertion of this rubric again reflects an understanding of consecration by both prayer and the words of institution, with, however, the latter occupying the centre stage and being the *sine qua non* of the sacrament.

Going back in history a few decades to about the time when Cosin was writing his first series of articles, one finds that Richard Montague was thinking along lines similar to that of Cosin and in conformity to the Canons of 1604. In Appello Caesarem, he taught that consecration concerns the elements and not only the communicants. The title of chapter 31 of this work includes the phrase, "consecration of the elements causeth a change; yet inferres no Popish Transubstantiation".⁵³ He went on to state that the "*consecrated Elements* had something more than meere *ordinary* bread and wine. For I did conceive a *sacramental* Being of them, and not onely a *naturall*, in their use and designment".⁵⁴ In Appello Caesarem, Montague did not deal directly

with the question of the consecration's form. Against transubstantiation, he appealed both to Eastern sources, such as St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Basil's Liturgy which imply that it is the epiclesis, and to Western materials, such as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine which imply that it is the word of Christ.⁵⁵

In his various Visitation Articles, however, Montague identified the necessary words as the words of institution. In the 1628 Articles for the diocese of Chichester, he asked, "And if more bread and wine be afterwards brought, the first not sufficing which was consecrated, doth he first use the words of consecration upon it before he give it to the communicants, as is prescribed Can. XXI?"⁵⁶ He also inquired as to whether the priest made the consecration "with those wordes that are set downe, if not, how and in what manner".⁵⁷ It is possible that this was directed against certain Puritans who may have been including an epiclesis in the consecration. Puritan ministers were not averse to amending the rite when they considered it inadequate, and we know from the 1644 Westminster Directory that they felt strongly enough about an epiclesis to include its ordering in the new rubric/service book. Moreover, at the 1662 Savoy Conference, they criticized the Book of Common Prayer because "the manner of the consecration of the elements is not here explicit and distinct enough".⁵⁸ It is possible, then, that in the 1620s and 30s they were already making up in the rite what they considered to be lacking.

In the 1631 and 1637 Articles for the diocese of Chichester, Montague repeated the questions concerning consecration which he had asked in 1628.⁵⁹ In 1638 during his first visitation in his new diocese of Norwich, he reiterated the identification of the words of institution as the consecration even more strongly in two questions:

Doth he [the priest] first receive himself in both kinds (for I have known where the Minister hath unorderly received last) upon his knees, at the Altar, having consecrated the bread and wine, by the solemn, and powerfull words of our Saviour, and none other:⁶⁰

And:

If the consecrated wine fail, or sufficeth not, doth your Minister, before he give it to the communicants consecrate that also which is newly supplied, as the former or doth he give it as it cometh from the tavern, without benediction: For there is no Sacrament untill the words of Institution be pronounced upon it: *This is my bloud, &c.*⁶¹

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Montague was loyal to the theological position of the 1604 Canons in this matter, taking up a position, similar to that which Andrewes had held, and standing in the dominant Western Christian stream of thinking.

In the writings of Laud, one finds a similar understanding of the centrality and importance of the words of Christ in consecrating the eucharist. This can be seen, first of all, in his comments on Bellarmine's Disputationes made between 1608 and 1621. Reacting to Bellarmine's claim that the words *Hoc est corpus meum* were thought among Catholics to be the essence of the sacrament and to be creative, but among heretics were not properly said as the *forma sacramenti* nor considered to be creative,⁶² Laud responded, *Quis dicit illa verba non esse formam sacramenti?*⁶³ This reaction indicates that he accepted the doctrine that the words of Jesus are the words of consecration, and it may imply that he also accepted the Roman teaching, going back to Aquinas,⁶⁴ that the four words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, and not the remainder of the institution narrative, is the precise form for the consecration of the bread. It may be, however, that Laud was affirming no more than the *verba Christi* as the means of consecration, and was not

distinguishing the various phrases in the dominical institution.

In various Visitation Articles, he, like Andrewes and Montague, insisted upon the repetition of the words of institution to consecrate any supplementary elements. In his 1628 Visitation as Bishop of London, for example, he asked, "... doth your minister... use the words of the institution according to the book at every time that the bread and wine is received, in such manner and form as by law is appointed...".⁶⁵ In his 1635 Metropolitcal Visitation to the diocese of Winchester, the article read: "And doth your minister receive the same himself, on every day that he administereth it to others, and use the words of institution according to the book at every time that the bread and wine is renewed, according as by the provisio of the 21st. canon is directed?"⁶⁶ The 1637 visitation articles for the peculiars of Canterbury asked, "... doth the minister receive the same every time that he administereth it to others, and use the words of institution at every time the bread and wine is renewed...."⁶⁷

In a 1636 letter to James Wedderburne, Bishop of Dunblane, concerning the Scottish Liturgy, Laud opposed the objection that manual acts pertaining to the consecration (taking and breaking bread, and laying hands on the chalice) should not be done until the words, "Do this in remembrance of me", had been spoken. The Archbishop argued that the actions should be performed "as he speaks the words", according to the practice of the Church of England. The words "Do this, etc." were the warrant for the participation, or communication, rather "than the consecration". The repetition of what Christ did was warrant enough to do the same, and the whole action was *actus continuus* in which the words, "Do this", came last to seal and confirm the warrant of the action.⁶⁸ Laud's understanding of the English rubrics would confirm that, as his comments on Bellarmine's work suggest, he understood the

consecration to be something less than the entire institution narrative (in this case, the words prior to the imperative, "Do this").

In some surviving notes of Laud, pertaining to his "Starr-chamber speech", he discussed the function of the *verbum consecrationis*, and in these notations there are two formulations of an assertion (designated by *ob.*) to which he made response. The first of these is that *Hoc est verbum meum* is not less than *Hoc est corpus meum* because 'tis the Word which makes the Body".⁶⁹ Laud made four comments:

First, *corpus conficitur* was used by some of the ancient Fathers *sano sensu*, but is abused by the Romanists at this day to prove Transubstantiation. [Er]go I do a little wonder to hear from some men this phrase, To make the Body.
Secondly, In S. Aug.: 'tis, *Accedit verbum ad Elementum et fit sacramentum*. The sacrament is made, not the Body.
Thirdly, Be it sacrament, or Body which is made, 'tis *verbum consecrationis* that make it, 'tis not *verbum praedicationis*; of which only I there spake.
Fourthly, All this is true though it be spoken of that which is indeed *Verbum Dei praedicatum*: whereas God knows *Omne verbum praedicatum* is not *Verbum Dei*.⁷⁰

To the second formulation of the assertion, *Non minus est verbum Dei, quam Corpus Christi*. S. Aug. Hom. 26, inter 50. ante medium 2 quo sensu., Laud wrote, "Fifthly, a lewd minister may deprave the word, and make it void many ways: but he cannot hurt the sacrament *digne recipientis*".⁷¹ These comments indicate that Laud understood the consecration to be by the *verbum* coming to the bread and wine and making them into the sacrament of Christ's body and blood.⁷²

This does not mean, however, that Laud was averse to the notion of prayer and invocation being involved in the sanctification of the elements. In his later work, History of the Troubles and Tryal, he defended the epiclesis found in the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book against the Puritan accusation that by means of it belief in a corporeal presence was being reintroduced.⁷³

Well, if these be the words, how will they squeeze corporal presence out of them? Why, first 'the change here, is made a work of God's omnipotency'. Well, and a work of omnipotency it is, whatever the change be. For less than Omnipotence cannot change those elements, either in nature, or use, to so high a service as they are put in that great Sacrament. And therefore the invoking of God's Almighty goodness to effect this by them, is no proof at all of intending the 'corporal presence of Christ in this Sacrament'. 'Tis true, this passage is not in Service-book of England; but I wish with all my heart it were. For although the consecration of the elements may be without it, yet ⁷⁴it is much more solemn and full by that invocation.

In Laud's thinking, the "benediction" or "consecration" was that point in the liturgy after which the elements might "be called, the Body and Blood of Christ, without any addition, in that real and true sense in which they are so called in Scripture".⁷⁵ While accepting the epiclesis as appropriate to this benediction, he did not regard it as essential. He held it to be of the *bene esse* of the sacrament, one might say, rather than of the *esse*, which he attributed to the words of institution.

The English emphasis on the words of institution came under attack in certain Reformed circles. In 1636, for example, the Scottish theologian, David Calderwood, criticized the Anglican usage on several grounds: 1) The words of Christ should be spoken as a warrant for the eucharistic celebration and as a word of promise to the communicants. 2) It cannot be said "demonstratively" that the bread and wine on the table are Christ's body and blood until they are "first sanctified by prayer and thanksgiving to that use, and after delivered to the communicant, with command, to take, eat, and assurance if he so doe, the bread shall be a pledge of his body, and the wine of his blood". 3) The "formalists", i.e., the Anglicans, place such virtue in the

words of Christ that they, like the Papists, think that the utterance of them makes the bread already Christ's body before it is eaten.

4) Rather, than speaking the words of institution to the communicants at the distribution of holy communion, they are spoken to God as prayer, as done in the canon of the Roman mass.⁷⁶ Undoubtedly, this Scottish Calvinist understood the Anglican emphasis on the necessity and importance of the *verba Christi* as approximating far too closely the teaching of Rome. Not all the Caroline divines, however, held this opinion with regard to the consecration, as we shall see.

Forbes' understanding of the consecration was like that of the theologians examined so far, inasmuch as he taught that it is directed not only towards people, but towards the bread and wine. All the more sound Protestants (*omnes saniores Protestantess*), he asserted, have acknowledged that the words by which the sacrament is consecrated are consecratory (*consecratoria*), and not only discursive (*concionalia*); they are not merely addressed to the people as instruction, but are said in order to consecrate the eucharist (*ad Eucharistiam consecrandam*).⁷⁷ Those whom Forbes appears to have had in mind when he spoke of men who understood the words as addressed only to the congregation, are some of the Reformed. That Forbes had Calvin and some of his followers in mind as less sound Protestants is indicated by a passage of the Archbishop of Spalatro which he included. In this text, the Archbishop calls into question whether the churches which have been reformed by Calvin possess a true sacrament if they consecrate the eucharist merely by a discourse and exhortation of the minister, without employing any special prayers consecrative of the sacrament (*si sola concione et ministri adhortatione conficiunt Eucharistiam nullis specialibus adhibitis precibus Sacramenti consecratoriis*).⁷⁸

One must keep in mind that in his Institution, Calvin had taught that the promises by which the consecration is accomplished are not directed to the elements themselves, but to those who receive,⁷⁹ and in his Commentarius in Harmoniam Evangelicam, he taught that bread is not consecrated by whispering and breathing, but by the clear doctrine of faith. It is, he argued, a piece of magic and sorcery when consecration is addressed to a dead element; consecration is nothing other than a solemn testimony by which the Lord appoints to us an earthly sign for a spiritual use, and this cannot take place unless his command and promise are distinctly heard with the purpose of edifying the faithful:

*Sed tenendum est interea, non consecrari panem susurro et flatu, sed clara fidei doctrina, Et sane magica incantatio est, quum ad mortuum elementum dirigitur consecratio: quia panis non sibi, sed nobis symbolum corporis Christi efficitur. In summa, nihil aliud est consecratio quam solenne testimonium, quo nobis terrestre et corruptibile signum Dominus in spiritualem usum destinat: quod fieri non potest, nisi clare ad fidem aedificandam resonent eius mandatum et promissio. Unde rursum patet, obscuro murmure et flatu apud papistas impie profanari mysterium.*⁸⁰

In discussing the form of consecration, Forbes stated that some theologians claim that it is the words of institution which constitute the eucharistic consecration. The majority of Protestants, however, think that it is effected not only by the words of Christ, but by the mystical prayer which implores the descent of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements, and so by the whole service performed by the minister and communicants, Forbes argued:

*Non enim solis illis Christi verbis consecrationem fieri existimant, sed etiam mystica prece, qua Spiritus Sancti adventus imploratur, qui elementa sanctificet, atque adeo actione tota, quatenus ea, cum a ministro, tum a communicantibus fit secundum institutionem Christi.*⁸¹

Among this "majority of Protestants", Forbes probably had in mind his

own Scottish Reformed co-religionists, since there is evidence to suggest that an epiclesis was part of the Scottish way of celebrating the sacrament during the early seventeenth century.⁸²

The Scriptures, Forbes argued, favour this opinion of the Protestants, and many Fathers have taught that the elements are consecrated by prayer and invocation. To support this opinion, he cited men such as the Archbishop of Spalatro, Cassander, William Lindanus and the writers of the Antididagma of Cologne.⁸³ The question of consecration was a minor controversy (*controversiola*) which had been debated for a long time between the Greeks and Latins, Forbes stated, with some westerners, both Roman and Protestant, defending the Latin opinion, and some the Greek opinion. Neither teaching, however, should be condemned as a grave or impious error (*Neutra tamen gravis aut impii erroris damnanda est*).⁸⁴ Despite this tolerant attitude, Forbes clearly favoured the Greek Orthodox understanding of consecration by prayer and epiclesis, quoting passages from the Archbishop of Spalatro and others, which state that the Eastern opinion represents the consensus of the ancient Latins, as well as the Greeks, and is safer and more probable.⁸⁵ Erasmus, Forbes argued, suggested caution in defining the form of consecration, since Thomas Aquinas and Gabriel Biel had admitted that orthodox divines had differed from each other on this question.⁸⁶ Forbes concluded from all this that tolerance was the best solution to this controversy: *Atque haec hac de lite sufficient, in qua nihil temere et tanquam de fide definiendum est.*⁸⁷

Two elements, therefore, were part of Forbes' understanding of consecration. First, the consecration is directed toward the earthly elements, not as a sermon toward the communicants. Secondly, he accepted the Greek Orthodox teaching that consecration is by means of the Church's prayer and epiclesis, without eliminating the words of

Christ as part of that consecrating prayer (*non solis illis Christi verbi*), and without condemning the Latin view.

A second defender of prayer and epiclesis as the form of consecration was Taylor. In The Great Exemplar (1649), he set forward what serves as the foundation for his understanding of eucharistic consecration, arguing that external rites of divine institution "receive benediction and energy from above" through the mediation of prayer. (Thorndike, as we shall see, had already in 1642 argued that prayer is the vehicle of consecration. See, pp.397 ff. Perhaps Taylor was influenced in this regard by Thorndike's Of Religious Assemblies.) There is, Taylor stated, nothing ritual which is not joined with "something moral" required of all persons capable of the use of reason. Both "works and graces" are included, i.e., God requires man to do something, and man goes to God to obtain it "in the means of his own hallowing". So true is this conjunction of the sacramental rites with "something moral", that the Greek Orthodox Church does not attribute the "mystery of consecration in the venerable eucharist" to any "mystical words" or "secret operation of syllables", but rather to the "efficacy of the prayers of the Church, in the just imitation of the whole action and rite of institution".⁸⁸

Two years later, in his Clerus Domini, Taylor set out the relationship between prayer and the words of Christ. In the sacrament, he argued, bread and wine are "hallowed and lifted up" by "mystical prayers and solemn invocations of God", as Dionysius called the consecration τελεστικὰς ἐπικλήσεις, "prayers of consecration", and St. Cyril taught that "the eucharistical bread, after the invocations of the Holy Ghost is not any longer that common bread, but the body of Christ".⁸⁹ Yet, Taylor argued, the words of institution should be

repeated at every celebration "because the whole action is not completed according to Christ's pattern, nor the death of Christ so solemnly enunciated without them, yet even those words also are part of a mystical prayer".⁹⁰ St. Basil was mistaken when he claimed that they are intended only ἐν ἔλδει διηγήσεως, "'by way of history' or narration".⁹¹ The ancient liturgies included them, not as a mere narrative, but "also with the form of an address, or invocation", and at the recitation of the words of institution the people responded with "Amen", indicating a consecration in the form of prayer. St. Augustine called the words and form of consecration, *orationes*, the prayers before the consecration, *preces*, and the whole action, *oratio*; this was according to the style, practice and sense of nearly the entire Church.⁹² St. Basil taught that there is more necessary to the consecration than the words recited by the apostles and evangelists. The words of Christ, Taylor argued, are retained "as part of the mystery co-operating to the solemnity, manifesting the signification of the rite, the glory of the change, the operation of the Spirit, the death of Christ, the memory of the sacrifice". Yet, this work is accomplished by the Holy Spirit through the prayer and invocation of the priest.⁹³

Whether consecration by prayer means the words of institution used as prayer or the prayers annexed to the narrative, it is still by way of prayer, Taylor argued. The "sacramental change" which passes from God to people by the priest is "obtained and effected by way of prayer". Since the Holy Spirit is the consecrator, He is either called down by "the force of a certain number of syllables" or He is called down by the prayers of the Church presented by the priest. The former certainly is not true, since there is much variety in the biblical accounts of the words of institution, and because it would be so similar to the "Gentile

rites, and the mysteries of Zoroastes, and the secret operations of the Enthei and the heathen priests". Unless God has explicitly stated that such power is affixed to the recitation of certain words, it is "not with too much forwardness to be supposed true in the spirituality of the Gospel".⁹⁴

The Greek Orthodox Churches, Taylor asserted, "have with more severity" than the Latin Church kept the more ancient forms of consecration, and have affirmed that the consecration is accomplished by "solemn invocation alone", the words of institution being embedded in the prayer as an "argument to move God to hallow the gifts, and as an expression and determination of the desire".⁹⁵ Moreover, the canons of all liturgies have always "mingle[d] solemn prayers together with recitation of Christ's words", and the Church of England has maintained the custom and sense of the ancient liturgies. The consecration, then, is not a "natural effect and change, finished in any one instant", Taylor argued, but is a "Divine alteration" consequent to the solemn prayer and invocation.⁹⁶

The position set out by Taylor in Clerus Domini contained a certain flexibility or inclusiveness by its refusal to identify the consecration proper with either the words of Christ or the surrounding prayers. Yet, it clearly was orientated toward the Eastern understanding of consecration through prayer and invocation. This attitude is seen even more clearly in 1654 The Real Presence, in which Taylor argued against the Roman understanding of consecration through the four words *Hoc est corpus meum*, which were thought to be effective when pronounced by a priest with the proper intention. Christ certainly used these words, Taylor acknowledged, as well as the rest of the words of institution, but He did not indicate which are "the consecrating words", and He did not appoint the apostles to use those particular words. He told them

to perform the action, remembering and representing His death. The recitation of these words is not intended to be "the sacramental consecration, and operative of the change".⁹⁷ All words spoken in the person of another are "declarative and exegetical, not operative and practical"; otherwise, when the priest says *Hoc est corpus meum*, he would turn the bread into his own body, not into the body of Christ.⁹⁸ There has been, Taylor argued, a variety of opinions among Latin theologians concerning whether the words of institution were to be taken "materially", i.e., as consecration, or "significatively", i.e., as declaration of something. It was Thomas Aquinas and his authority which brought the consecratory opinion "into credit".⁹⁹

A clear indication of the incorrectness of the Roman understanding of the words of consecration, Taylor asserted, is that the words which relate to the wine are different in the evangelists' and in St. Paul's writings. It is not known which words were spoken by Christ, and hence, it is not possible to be certain that He intended any particular form of the words to be "consecratory or effective of what they signify". The Church of Rome herself has changed the form of the words of consecration of the chalice so that it is not the same as any New Testament version (*Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei Novi et aeterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*).¹⁰⁰ Here there are additions and alterations, Taylor claimed, which would be very important if the words are consecratory, since they would not be as "operative and effective" as the words of Christ recorded in Matthew and Mark's Gospels, "This is my blood". Variety in the biblical accounts indicates that the "sense and meaning of the mystery, not the letters and the syllables" are the important factors. The mystery is "wholly spiritual", and so long as the "spirit of it" is retained, the words which express it do not matter.¹⁰¹

The eucharistic change is not accomplished "naturally" or "by a certain number of syllables in the manner of a charm", but "solemnly, sacredly, morally, and by prayer", Taylor argued.¹⁰² When Christ took bread, He "gave thanks", or "blessed it", making it "eucharistical". Common bread, when blessed, εὐλογήσας, is consecrated or made holy, and is made εὐχαριστήσας. To bless or consecrate, then, is to give thanks, and unless one maintains that this blessing of Christ, which comes before the recitation of the "words of consecration", is ineffective, it has to be admitted that the eucharistic change is consequent upon this giving of thanks, or blessing. The words, "This is my body" and "This is my blood of the New Testament", are, as the Byzantine theologian Nicholas Cabasilas^{/(b.c. 1322)} claimed, ἐν εἰδει διηγήσεως, "by way of history and narration".¹⁰³ The Greek Orthodox Church, Taylor argued, has universally taught that the consecration is "made by the prayers of the ministering man".¹⁰⁴ Appealing to various writers, he wrote:

Justin Martyr calls it τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστη-
θεῖσαν τροφήν, - 'nourishment made eucharistical by
prayer'; and Origen calls it ἄρτους σῶμα γενομένους
διὰ τὴν εὐχήν, ἅγιόν τι - 'bread made a body, a holy
thing by prayer'; διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοι-
τήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; so Damascen; - 'by
the invocation and illumination of the Holy Ghost',
μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ
αἷμα - they are changed into the body and blood of
Christ'. But¹⁰⁵ for the Greek Church the case is evident
and confessed.

Even in the ancient Latin Church, Taylor argued, men such as Jerome and Augustine spoke of the sacrament as consecrated by prayer.¹⁰⁶

In Ductor Dubitantium (1660), Taylor expressed uncertainty as to whether the *verba* or prayer consecrates the eucharist: "That the bread and wine are to be blessed, we are sure: but in what form of words, and whether by the mystic prayer, or the words of institution, is not derived to us by sufficient tradition".¹⁰⁷ This doubt as to the form

of consecration may have been caused by Forbes' Considerationes Modestae, which had been published two years earlier. . . Nonetheless, in 1667, Taylor again stated in his Dissuasive from Popery, Part II, that it is not agreeable to the Gospel to suppose a change effected by "the saying of so many words". The Church, nevertheless, recites all the words of institution, as seen in the liturgies of St. James, St. Clement, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, the Anaphora of the Syrians and the universal canon of the Ethiopians. Yet, "generally the Greek fathers and divers of the Latin" expressly taught that the consecration is made by the prayers of the Church, recited by the bishop or priest.

Christ certainly consecrated the sacrament before giving it to the disciples; the consecration, then, was effected by His blessing or benediction, and consequently, before the *verba*. If it was the eucharist which Christ gave at Emmaus, there is no record of any consecration other than that of "Christ's blessing or praying over the elements". While something more, i.e., the words of Christ, might have been absent, the consecration was not performed without the prayers.¹⁰⁸ Taylor also appealed to the position of the epiclesis after the words of Christ in the Liturgy of St. James, which, he asserted, indicate that the consecration is not made before the invocation: "... for if that consecration was made before that prayer [the epiclesis], how comes St. James to call it 'bread' after consecration?"¹⁰⁹

Here one sees a theology of consecration which by explicit and clear citations and appeals was linked with that of the Orthodox East. Nicholas Cabasilas, for example, to whom Taylor referred, similarly had rejected the *verba* alone as being the consecration and argued that the words of Christ spoken at the Last Supper do indeed accomplish the eucharistic mystery in the present-day celebration of the sacrament, but through the invocation and prayer of the priest. The

sanctification of the eucharist, he taught, is by prayer, not relying on any human power, but on the power and promise of God:

... οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα πιστεύομεν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὸ μυστήριον, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον· ἀλλ' οὕτω, διὰ ἱερέως, δι' ἐντεύξεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐχῆς... Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μυστηρίων τὸν ἁγιασμόν τῇ εὐχῇ τοῦ ἱερέως πιστεύομεν, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρωπίνη τινι, ἀλλ' ὡς θεοῦ δυνάμει θάρρουντες.¹¹⁰

The rejection of the *verba Christi* as the form of consecration was, as has already been pointed out, also part of Reformed teaching. One must also keep in mind that the 1644 Westminster Directory, whatever Taylor found wrong with it,¹¹¹ had also identified the "blessing" of the bread and wine with a prayer of thanksgiving. Moreover, it directed the minister "earnestly to pray to God... to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectually working of His Spirit in us, and so to sanctify these Elements both of Bread and Wine, and to blesse his own Ordinance, that we may receive by Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ...".¹¹²

The point at which Taylor differed from the Reformed position concerns the direction of the words of institution. The liturgy which he created (found in his 1658 Collection of Offices), heavily indebted to the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy of St. James,¹¹³ reflected Taylor's theology by placing the words *within* the eucharistic prayer, and thus, recited God-ward. Like the Liturgy of St. James, the liturgies of SS. Chrysostom and Basil also included the words of Christ as part of the eucharistic prayer; after their recitation by the priest, the people respond with "Amen", and the celebrant then continues with the anamnesis-prayer.¹¹⁴ In the Reformed tradition, the words of Christ were recited man-ward as proclamation to the communicants. Calvin, for example, in rejecting the position that the *verba* are directed toward

the elements wrote:

... ne s'adressent point aux signes, mais à ceux
qui les reçoivent. Or Iesus Christ ne parle
point au pain, pour luy commander qu'il devienne
son corps, mais il commande à ses disciples d'en
manger, et leur promet que ce leur sera un
tesmoignage de la communion de son corps.¹¹⁵

This understanding was liturgically expressed in Reformed eucharistic services, such as those found in The Genevan Service Book,¹¹⁶ the Scottish Book of Common Order,¹¹⁷ and the Westminster Directory,¹¹⁸ by including the recitation of the words of Christ *outside* the prayer of thanksgiving. They were connected with the "Invitation" at the beginning of the service, were recited just before the eucharistic prayer, or were read at the distribution of the elements;

Taylor's understanding, therefore, resembled that of both the Orthodox and the Reformed in his rejection of the *verba Christi* as the consecration itself, and in his acceptance of prayer as the means for sanctifying the elements. He was closer to the Orthodox inasmuch as he understood the words of institution as included within the eucharistic prayer, rather than as a direct proclamation to the congregation.

A third defender of consecration by prayer and epiclesis was Thorndike. Of all the Anglicans under consideration, his understanding of consecration was, perhaps, the most clearly and precisely developed. In his 1642 Of Religious Assemblies, he related a valid consecration to the unity of the Church. The faith of the community, he argued, expresses itself in a specific way in order to effect the eucharistic presence, i.e., the consecration of the elements. The prayer in which the Church agrees is able to make the sacrament "the bread of God".¹¹⁹ Therefore, the unity of the Church is the presupposition of an effective

consecration in Thorndike's thinking: "The celebration of the Eucharist is not sound nor effectual but under the Bishop, that is, in the unity of the Church, therefore sacrilege in them that attempt it [i.e. a celebration outside this unity]".¹²⁰

Thorndike was, moreover, specific with regard to the form which this consecration takes - an act of thanksgiving, from which the sacrament has been given the name of "eucharist". It has always been consecrated with thanksgiving in which remembrance is made of all the blessings of God's providence, and in particular, that of Christ's work, which is commemorated "with prayer that His ordinance may be effectual to the present".¹²¹ There is no "law of God in the Scriptures" which "enacteth this sacrament to be celebrated with that thanksgiving and prayer for the effect of Christ's institution", Thorndike acknowledged, but because it has been thus celebrated "from the beginning of the Church", based on Christ's action at the Last Supper, it is necessary that the elements should be "actually and formally deputed by remembering the institution of our Lord, and by the prayer of the Church, professing the execution, and begging the blessing of the same". The mere act of receiving the elements as a sacrament, without consecration, is not sufficient, he argued.¹²²

The content of this consecration was "at large laid down" in the form of thanksgiving found in the Constitution of the Apostles, Thorndike maintained: 1. a rehearsal of "God's unspeakable perfections", of His providence toward fallen man and of His giving of the Law to Israel, with praise to Him in union with cherubim and seraphim, 2. a recounting of the incarnation and the whole course of Christ's dispensation in the flesh, especially His passion, crucifixion and resurrection, and 3. the recitation of the institution of the eucharist. This basic structure is found in other ancient liturgies, such as those

of St. James, St. Basil, St. Mark and St. Chrysostom, Thorndike claimed, and the preface of the Roman mass "seemth to be that which remaineth of this thanksgiving".¹²³

But how is it possible for the bread and wine to be deputed to become the body and blood of Christ through thanksgiving, Thorndike asked. His answer was that it "seemeth unquestionable that the thanksgiving wherewith our Lord in the Gospel is said to have celebrated this Sacrament at His last supper, contained also prayer to God for the effect to which the elements, when they became this Sacrament, are deputed".¹²⁴ As with the miracle of the loaves, "it cannot be doubted that beside blessing God for His creatures He prayed also for the purpose of that which He intended to do".¹²⁵ The thanksgiving of Christ at the first eucharist must have contained prayer deputing the bread and wine "for signs to exhibit His body and blood"; otherwise, the disciples would not have understood His words of distribution, which designated them as His body and blood. Moreover:

For that which is affirmed must be true before it be truly affirmed, and the process of this action, blessing and delivering the elements, and commanding to receive them as His body and blood, importeth that He intended to affirm that so they were, in the true sense which the words import, at the instant of delivering them.¹²⁶

The Church, Thorndike argued, has always recited the institution narrative and then prayed for the effect of it at the present celebration.¹²⁷ All the Eastern liturgies, together with testimonies of ecclesiastical writers, demonstrate that prayer is used to obtain from God the fulfilment of the promise "which the institution of Christ supposeth".¹²⁸ The recitation of Christ's institution shows that what is presently done is in obedience to the original institution. Prayer is made so that "by the Holy Ghost the elements may be sanctified to become the body and blood of Christ, and then that they may be to such

effects of grace as are specified in the form to them that communicate".¹²⁹ Thorndike here distinguished an epiclesis for the transformation of the gifts from prayer that the reception might be efficacious. The petition in the Roman mass, *ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat*, shows that prayer is made "for the effect of Christ's institution in the elements", he argued. Likewise, the reason for St. Ambrose's statement that after the institution has been rehearsed, the elements are called Christ's body and blood seems to be that the bread and wine are deputed to such an end by prayer "grounded on the institution of Christ, which it is joined with".¹³⁰ Thorndike suggested that the ancient form of the Roman mass must have contained an epiclesis for the deputation of the gifts as Christ's body and blood, distinct from the prayer which asks for the effects of the sacrament to be obtained by communicants.¹³¹

Eight years later in his 1650 A Review of the Service of God at Religious Assemblies, Thorndike attacked the belief that the words of institution constitute the consecration. While the Church repeats Christ's words in the consecration of the eucharist in order to set out the ground upon which the Church celebrates the sacrament, the *verba* are not the consecration in themselves. When some Fathers, such as St. Irenaeus,¹³² taught that the elements are consecrated by the *verba Christi*, they did not mean the words "This is my body"; rather, they referred to the institution containing the command, "Do this", by virtue of which "the Eucharist is celebrated and the effect thereof assumed". Many of the same writers also affirmed, Thorndike claimed, that the eucharist is consecrated by mystical prayer, by calling upon God, by thanksgiving, or by solemn blessing, always meaning the prayer by which the Church consecrates the sacrament. Justin Martyr, for example, taught that the eucharist is consecrated by "the word of

prayer, that is, by the ordinance of our Lord, whereupon this prayer is made".¹³³

The Church must consecrate by the same means as Christ did, Thorndike asserted. Εὐχαριστία, being the same as εὐλογία in the biblical accounts of the institution, implies that the eucharist was consecrated by Jesus with the thanksgiving, which went before His words, "This is my body, This is my blood", were pronounced. These words were spoken when Christ delivered the sacrament to His disciples, and it was necessary that the sacrament was consecrated before it was delivered to the disciples.¹³⁴ The evangelists and St. Paul, he argued, signified the consecration with the terms "blessing" and "giving thanks". These terms, εὐλογία and εὐχαριστία, have "the nature of words of art, or formal terms comprising the whole prayer which the Sacrament was consecrated with". To say that Christ blessed and gave thanks is to say that He did what the Church has ever since done in the consecration of the eucharist.¹³⁵ Unlike in his 1642 treatise, Thorndike was now able to conclude that the consecration and the prayers with which it has always been offered to God are among those parts of the service "actually prescribed by the word of God".¹³⁶

So important was the consecration to Thorndike, that in a letter published in 1656, he maintained that without it there is no valid eucharist. One of the reasons, he argued, that the sacrament of the Presbyterians and Independents in England during the Interregnum was not valid was that "they know not nor acknowledge the consecration, that is requisite to the celebration and being of this Sacrament".¹³⁷ Since the 1644 Directory had ordered both the reading of the words of institution and a eucharistic prayer containing an epiclesis, one wonders what Thorndike specifically had in mind when he levelled this attack. It would seem most likely that his real concern behind this

statement was to defend the Book of Common Prayer which had "exactly maintained" the consecration. Presuming, therefore, to celebrate the eucharist without acknowledging the English Liturgy and attempting to destroy the law by which it was established, indicated that the enemies of the Church of England did not acknowledge the necessity of the consecration. They were guilty of the Lord's body and blood for "not distinguishing a sign of man's institution from a sacrament of God's appointment and ordinance".¹³⁸ That the Directory provided only directions for the consecration, rather than a set form, may have been what Thorndike was attacking, since in one passage he seemed to acknowledge the problem as a lack of concern with regard to the form of consecration: "Besides that, what is requisite to the consecration of the eucharist, or wherein it consists, they seem to be as secure of, and as little to regard, as the most ignorant of those sects, into which the once common name of Puritan stands divided at this time".¹³⁹

In the 1659 Epilogue we find Thorndike's most thoroughly articulated teaching on consecration. He excluded the notion that it is faith which causes the sacramental presence. (Forbes' Considerationes Modestae, published the previous year, had made the same point. Supra, p. 270.) Certain Puritans had come close to holding this idea, or at least had expressed themselves in such a way as to suggest it. William Perkins, for example, had written, "Therefore, it is faith alone, that makes Christ crucified to be present unto us in the sacrament".¹⁴⁰

Thorndike also attacked those who, while allowing the sacrament to be more than a sign, did not understand the words of institution as meaning that the elements are the body and blood "when they are received", but who taught that they "become so upon being received with living faith". This reference is ostensibly to the Reformed in general.

Such a position, Thorndike claimed, allows "no more of the Body and Blood to be in the sacrament than out of it" since the action of faith "importeth the eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, no less without the sacrament than in it".¹⁴² If the words "This is my body" mean no more than "This is the sign of my body", the eucharist would be "a mere sign of the Body and Blood, without any promise of spiritual grace". While faith can spiritually eat and drink Christ's body and blood *when* the sacrament or sign is received, it can also do this without sacramental reception.¹⁴³ The issue, then, upon which Thorndike attacked the Reformed position concerned the question of how there is a "true and real participation of Christ's flesh" *in* and *by* the eucharist which is distinct from spiritual manducation outside the sacrament:

Unless we can maintain, that we receive the Body and Blood of Christ, not only when we receive the sacrament of the eucharist, but also by receiving it, there is no cause why our Lord should say, 'This is My Body - this is [My] Blood'; when he delivered only the sign of it to good and bad, and therefore, not out of any consideration of the quality of them that received it.¹⁴⁴

What Thorndike was attempting to exclude here is the idea that it is by virtue of eating and drinking in faith that Christ is said to be present in the sacrament. He was concerned to affirm that it is by virtue of the consecration of the elements that Christ's body and blood are present, and *consequently* can be eaten and drunk.¹⁴⁵

Thorndike also rejected the teaching that the cause of Christ's presence is to be found in Christological dogma *per se*. He attacked the doctrine of absolute ubiquity in which the body and blood are thought to be present by necessity, "taking effect without exception after His exaltation to glory, which it is manifest is so long since past and done before the celebration of it".¹⁴⁶ Those Lutherans who

hold this position, he stated, are "commonly called Ubiquitaries, because they are supposed to teach" that the omnipresence of the Godhead is communicated to Christ's flesh so that it can be present everywhere and "necessarily subsisteth in the dimensions of bread" in the sacrament.¹⁴⁷

Thorndike did, however, recognize another party within Lutheranism, which did not hold the absolute ubiquitarian position. These theologians rejected the accusation that their understanding of the hypostatical union meant that the attributes and properties of the Godhead are transferred to the manhood of Christ as "their own proper subject" and reside in it so that they are "truly to be attributed to It". Thorndike acknowledged that this "Eutychian" position, which confuses the natures, was repudiated by these Lutherans.¹⁴⁸ The Liber Concordiae, he pointed out, denied that the properties of the Godhead are "transfused into the Manhood" and that the "Manhood of Christ is locally extended all over the heaven and earth", but affirmed that Christ is able by His omnipotence to make present His body and blood where He wills, especially where He has promised that presence in the eucharist.¹⁴⁹ Martin Chemnitz, "one of the best learned of their divines", Thorndike claimed, "confineth himself to these terms in his discussion of the communication of attributes in his De Duabus Naturae in Christo."¹⁵⁰ What this party really meant to teach, Thorndike argued, was that in the work of Christ's mediatorial office, the divine nature communicates with the human nature such that there is a concurrence of both natures in effecting those works which are brought about by the Godhead. This is "no more than the faith of the Catholic Church importeth; nor inferreth the ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's Flesh, as an endowment communicated to reside in it by virtue of the hypostatic union, as thenceforth the proper subject of

it", he concluded.¹⁵¹ Because of this union, Thorndike agreed, the human nature in Christ is honoured with the worship due only to God, since it is inseparably united to the Godhead of the Word.¹⁵²

The arguments from Scripture for the hypostatical union appealed to by Lutherans,¹⁵³ however, had nothing to do with the eucharistic problem, Thorndike asserted. If one were to argue that by the will of God the "immensity of the Godhead" is transfused into the manhood in order to enable it to be present wherever the eucharist is celebrated "and so in the elements of it", this would result in the heresy of Eutyches. If it were claimed that the will of the man Christ concurs with His divine power in order to make present the body and blood, one cannot say that they are present "by virtue of the hypostatical union", but only "by virtue of the hypostatical union, the will and power of Christ is executed by the power of the Godhead concurring with it, and Which it acteth with".¹⁵⁴

The eucharistic presence, then, does not take place "immediately" by virtue of the personal union, but by means of the promise of the Godhead with which the human will of Christ is in communion. Certainly, Thorndike argued, "no man ever was so impertinent, as not to suppose the hypostatical union", when dealing with the question of how Christ should come to effect the presence of His body and blood in the eucharist,¹⁵⁵ but this is not a sufficient answer in the controversy concerning the sacrament:

But, that being supposed and not serving the turn alone, it remains, that we judge it by the institution of the eucharist, and the promise which it contains; that is to say, by those scriptures, out of which the intent of them is to be had, and not by the hypostatical union, which being supposed, the question remains nevertheless. And by the hypostatical union, we doubt not, but our Lord Christ hath power to represent His Body and Blood, that is, to make it present, where He please; but that must be not merely by virtue of the

hypostatical union, but by doing the same miracle which transubstantiation importeth, though it be the hypostatical union that enableth our Lord Christ to do it.¹⁵⁶

Thorndike, therefore, did not accept the doctrine of the hypostatical union as resolving the question of how the eucharistic presence is brought about.¹⁵⁷

He also rejected the teaching that the consecration "upon which the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood depends" is to be attributed to the recital of Christ's words and actions at the Last Supper. This he opposed to the prayer which the Church has always made "to the express purpose of obtaining this sacramental as well as spiritual presence".¹⁵⁸

Among the Fathers whom he cited as evidence that the consecration is the prayer of the Church are included Justin, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, Chrysostom and Gregory the Great.¹⁵⁹ Although Thorndike's argument was based first of all upon the biblical narratives, it was the Church's tradition which seems to have been the conclusive factor. "But the strength of this resolution, I confess, lies in the consent of the Church; and those circumstances visible in the practice thereof, which, to them that observe them with reason, are manifest evidences of this sense."¹⁶⁰

In commenting on St. Gregory the Great's¹⁶¹ statement that the apostles consecrated only with the Lord's Prayer, Thorndike argued that if Gregory meant that they celebrated the eucharist with an intention to consecrate the sacrament by reciting this prayer, then, he would "rather adhere to St. Basil,¹⁶² affirming the apostles to have delivered certain words (that is, the meaning of certain words), to call upon God, for the consecrating of the elements into the Body and Blood with".¹⁶³ In choosing St. Basil over St. Gregory, he would be preferring not only one man over another, but the whole Church, Thorndike claimed.¹⁶⁴ The

consecration should certainly end with the Lord's Prayer, a practice which may have come from the apostles.¹⁶⁵ The true meaning of St. Gregory's words, however, concerns the distinction between celebrations of the eucharist made "plainly, by prayer, with commemoration of our Lord's passion" and those more elaborate celebrations with a "solemnity of lessons, Psalms, and prayers". Gregory's words, *ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem*, mean to consecrate "at" or "with" the Lord's Prayer alone, not "by" it alone, he argued. This indicates that the Lord's Prayer was always used to conclude the consecration, regardless of the type of service.¹⁶⁶

If, however, one did not accept this interpretation of Gregory's words, Thorndike offered still another way of understanding the use of the Lord's Prayer as the form of consecration, i.e., that the apostles referred the petition of "our daily bread" to the eucharistic bread and cup. The intention of the consecration, then, could be found in this petition of the assembly praying the Lord's Prayer over the elements and expecting to receive the body and blood of Christ for the conveying of the Holy Spirit into their souls. Thorndike did not "doubt of their receiving the Body and Blood", provided that the "order of the Church received from the apostles be not neglected" on more solemn occasions.¹⁶⁷ The recitation of the Lord's Prayer with the proper intention was far better than using the correct form of consecration but believing the eucharist to be only a sign to confirm faith. In the latter case, there would be no consecration, and consequently, no reception of the body and blood.¹⁶⁸

Later writings of Thorndike continued the various themes of his earlier works. In his 1662 Just Weights and Measures, he asserted that the notion that the communicant's faith causes the sacramental presence is an "error in the foundation of faith". It is "enough to render the

sacraments no sacraments, which are celebrated professing it".¹⁶⁹ In 1667 he was still concerned with this issue, arguing that if one were to make the faith of him who receives the sacrament the cause of the presence, there would "remain no cause either of sacrament or consecration or Church, to do that, which faith does without the elements".¹⁷⁰

In Just Weights and Measures, Thorndike again asserted that the consecration is by prayer, in fact, "nothing else but by prayer, that God would send the Holy Ghost upon the present elements, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ; that they, who should receive them worthily, might be filled with His grace".¹⁷¹ Given this understanding of consecration, as well as his criticism of the Puritans, it is surprising that Thorndike was willing to tolerate the form of consecration in the 1604 English Prayer Book, which contained no explicit epiclesis for a transformation of the gifts, praying only, "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood ...".¹⁷²

In Just Weights and Measures, he acknowledged this lack, when he wrote that the prayer of the 1604 Book "seemeth agreeable to the *intent* of God's Church", but that the forms of consecration in the first Book of Edward VI and in the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 were "more agreeable".¹⁷³

In The Reformation of the Church of England (1670-72), Thorndike reiterated the importance of the consecration, going so far as to suggest that agreement concerning it could lead to a resolution of the eucharistic controversies:

If this were agreed upon, which cannot be resisted

but by Socinains and Fanatics; - that the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the sacrament by the institution of our Lord, by celebrating the sacrament, whereby His institution is executed by consecrating the elements to the purpose that the Body and Blood of Christ may be received:- the whole dispute concerning the manner of presence in the nature of the formal cause might be superseded. For then all parties must agree, that they are present sacramentally, as the nature of a sacrament requireth.¹⁷⁴

To summarize Thorndike's teaching on consecration, one can say that like both the Reformed (to whom he was not favourably inclined) and the Eastern Orthodox (to whose liturgies he frequently appealed), he emphasized the prayer of the Church as the means whereby the elements are sanctified. He rejected the notion that the words of institution constitute the consecration, and he stressed the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic prayer as did the Orthodox.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, he understood the consecration to be of supreme importance in eucharistic theology and to provide a way out of the morass caused by the divisions in sacramental doctrine.

As with other issues, the Caroline divines were not agreed on the form of consecration in the eucharist. Diversity of opinion is a hallmark of their response to the question of how the sacrament is sanctified or effected. They were united, however, in their affirmation that the consecration concerns something which happens to the elements, and is not merely words addressed to the congregation.

Divines such as Saravia (inasmuch as he was interested in the question), Andrewes, Montague, Cosin in his early years, and Laud emphasized the importance of the recitation of the words of institution. In so doing, they were loyal to the Canons of 1604 which established the words of Christ as the indispensable minimum for consecrating bread and

wine to be the sacrament of the body and blood. This position reflected the dominant understanding of consecration held in the West for centuries, and maintained by Lutherans and Romans after the sixteenth-century theological disruption.

The other Caroline theologians, however, moved away from this doctrine. Forbes refused to condemn the western understanding as wrong, but preferred the teaching that consecration occurs by "mystical prayer" and the epiclesis, and not only by the words of Christ. Cosin, in his later years, while still including the words of institution in his understanding of consecration, emphasized the role of prayer together with them. Taylor and Thorndike were the most explicit in identifying prayer and invocation of the Spirit as the form of consecration and in denying that this could be attributed to the recitation of the *verba Christi*. The linking of consecration with the giving of thanks was an idea common to both the Reformed and the Eastern Orthodox. Although the retention of the words of institution *within* the prayer of consecration, *together with* an epiclesis, was characteristic of Orthodox liturgical practice (and defended by these Anglicans), the invocation of the Holy Spirit can be found within the Reformed tradition as well. Although the seventeenth-century English eucharistic rite did not contain an explicit epiclesis (the closest it came was to ask God to grant that the communicants might be made partakers of Christ's body and blood. Supra, p. 370), it must be remembered that the 1549 rite had included one, as well as the ill-fated "Scottish Liturgy" of 1637. The Anglican liturgical tradition, therefore, was not completely bereft of an invocation of the Spirit, and these rites, undoubtedly, served as inspiration to seventeenth-century Anglicans who re-asserted the role of the Holy Spirit in consecration.¹⁷⁶

It is remarkable that neither Taylor nor Thorndike offered an explanation of how the 1604 canonical requirement of consecration of supplementary elements by means of the words of institution could fit with their understanding of consecration. It is also note-worthy that they refrained from attacking earlier Caroline divines who had expressed, either by means of explicit theological statements or by means of various Visitation Articles, their acceptance of this canonical norm. This suggests that, despite the vigour of their arguments, Taylor and Thorndike did not draw the boundaries of "correct teaching" so tightly in this matter as to exclude absolutely the traditional western doctrine, or its exponents. This is not altogether surprising, since the received tradition (a liturgy with a eucharistic prayer of consecration containing the *verba Christi*, and yet canons specifying the words of institution as the form for consecrating additional elements) contained in itself elements easily susceptible of varying interpretations.

FOOTNOTES

¹Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, pp. 194-95; Liturgiae Britannicae, pp. 214-16.

²The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (London: SPCK, 1846), p. 13.

³Proctor & Frere, A New History of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 492.

⁴Dugmore, The Mass and the English Reformers, pp. 6 ff.; Thomas Klauser, A Short History of the Western Liturgy, trans. J. Halliburton (London: University Press, 1969), pp. 135 ff.; Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy, pp. 275 ff., 482-84.

⁵ST, 3a.78.1.

⁶Richard F. Buxton, Eucharist and Institution, Alcuin Club Collections No. 58 (Great Wakering: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1976), p. 194.

See also, Joseph A. Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite, trans. F. A. Brunner, rev. by C. K. Riepe (New York: Benziger Brothers Inc., 1959), pp. 103-106, 417-29.

⁷WA, 19: 490 (*Sermon von dem Sakrament*, 1526).

⁸... dass die wahre Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibs und Blute Christi im Abendmahl nicht schaffe einiges Menschen Wort oder Werk, es sei das Verdienst oder Sprechen des Dieners oder das Essen und Trinken oder Glaub der Communicanten, sonder solchs alles solle allein des allmächtigen Gottes Kraft und unsers Herrn Jesu Christi Wort, Einsetzung und Ordnung zugeschrieben werden. Denn die wahrhaftigen und allmächtigen Wort Jesu Christi, welche er in der ersten Einsetzung gesprochen, sind nicht allein im ersten Abendmahl kräftig gewesen, sondern währen, gelten, wirken und sind kräftig, dass in allen Orten, da das Abendmahl nach Christi Einsetzung gehalten und seine Wort gebraucht worden, aus Kraft und Vermögen derselbigen Wort, die Christus im ersten Abendmahl gesprochen, der Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftig gegenwärtig ausgeteilet und empfangen wird. Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 998 (*Solida Declaratio*, VII).

⁹Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic, trans. A. G. Herbert (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 127.

¹⁰Sasse, This is My Body, p. 132.

¹¹William D. Maxwell, The Book of Common Prayer and the Worship of Non-Anglican Churches (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 48. The Confessio Helvetica Posterior of 1566, however, placed great emphasis on the words of Christ when it stated that Christ's consecration at the first Supper remains among those who celebrate the sacrament according to its institution, and at which the words of the Lord's Supper are repeated: *Durat autem ea consecratio vel benedictio adhuc apud omnes eos, qui non aliam coenam, sed illam ipsam celebrant, quam dominus instituit: ad quam verba coenae domini recitant, et in omnibus ad unum Christum vera fide respiciunt, ex cuius veluti manibus accipiunt, quod per ministerium ministorum ecclesiae accipiunt.* Collectio Confessionum, p. 519.

¹²See, e.g., Maxwell's discussion of the Lord's Supper in the Scottish Book of Common Order. The elements are brought to the table, the minister reads the words of institution, and then an exhortation. This is followed by the eucharistic prayer containing adoration, thanksgiving for creation and redemption, the anamnesis of Christ, frequently in practice, if not in directive, an invocation of the Holy Spirit, and finally a doxology. A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 66. See also, Pierre du Moulin, propositions 13 and 14 of Certain Analytical and Orthodox Propositions upon the Lords Supper, p. 11; Zacharias Ursinus, The Summe of Christian Religion, trans. D. Henry Parry (London: James Young, 1645), p. 432; Crakanthorp, Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae, p. 518.

¹³William D. Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1931), p. 128. McDonnell has commented on this service book, "The manner in which the words of

consecration are incorporated into the exhortation show clearly that they were not used as sacramental words in a consecratory sense".
John Calvin, p. 236, ft.nt. 105.

¹⁴Eucharist and Institution Narrative, pp. 89-90.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 90-91. Buxton writes, "Thus while the Johnson case is of the greatest theological importance, its actual influence on Elizabethan ecclesiastical practice would seem to have been fairly minimal". Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁶Brillioth, Eucharist Faith and Practice, p. 127. It can also be pointed out that an anonymous English Lutheran "Real Presence tract" from the mid-sixteenth century had stated, "And therefore when soever thes wourdes of Christ This is my bodye, and this is my bludd, bee duelye pronounced in the ministracion of this sacrament thei ought to be taken not for the wourdes of any other but of our Saviour Christ himself *sic* whoe wourketh the same thyng that he did at his laste Supper...". Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine, p. 114.

¹⁷De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 82.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 80. See also, PL, 16/17: 405-6 (c. 9, *De Mysteriis*).

²⁰Ibid., p. 84.

²¹Ibid., p. 78. See also, PG, 57/58: 744 (*In Matt. Hom. LXXXII al. LXXXIII*).

²²De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 78.

²³Works, RACB: 265.

²⁴Ibid., PP: 240; The Greek Liturgies, p. 136.

²⁵Ibid., RACB: 263; PL, 16/17: 440-41 (*de Sacramentis*).

²⁶Articles to be Inquired of by the Church-wardens and sworne-men, in the ordinarie visitation of the Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Lord Bishop of Elie within the Diocese of Elie (Cambridge: Cantrell Legge, 1610), p. A,2[V].

²⁷Buxton did not take these Visitation Articles into consideration when he concluded that it is not very clear with what Andrewes equated the consecration in liturgical usage. Eucharist and Institution Narrative, p. 114.

²⁸Works, 3: 283.

²⁹See the opening text of the eucharistic canon. The Greek Liturgies, pp. 128-29. For the epiclesis, pp. 130, 131; for a post-communion prayer to the Father, p. 136; and for the prayer, "Attend, O Lord Jesus Christ", pp. 136, 168.

³⁰As has already been seen, Calvin emphasized the role of the Holy Spirit in effecting communion with Christ's body (see, Institution, 4: 17:10,12), and Luther affirmed that the body is present through the word and power of the Holy Spirit (see, WA, 19: 490). Cardinal du Perron also stated that the body of Christ is present through the *Toute-puissance de l'Esprit de Dieu* (Replique à la Response, p. 780), and Aquinas earlier had taught that the body is present *virtute spiritus* (ST, 3a.75.1).

³¹Works, 5: 106.

³²"... and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again." Liturgiae Britannicae, p. 214.

³³"Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee; and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." Ibid., pp. 214-216.

³⁴Works, 5: 106.

³⁵Ibid., p. 110.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Whether Cosin ever gave this version to his clergy, or whether he eventually distributed it in the condensed version, as found in Works, 2: 1 ff. is not known. Correspondence, 1: 106, ft.nt. *.

³⁹Ibid., p. 117.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 244.

⁴¹Ibid., 5: 304; see also, Buxton, Eucharist and Institution Narrative, p. 120.

⁴²Ibid., 4: 407-408.

⁴³Ibid., p. 359.

⁴⁴Works, p. 45.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 16; see also, p. 50, in which Cosin wrote, ... *sed ... negamus, post verborum prolationem, et consecrationem panis, panem non amplius esse panem...*

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁷*Vides, quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse (panis et vinum) quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quae erant, et in alius commutentur! ... Ergo, (ut tibi respondeam) non erat Corpus Christi*

ante consecrationem, sed post consecrationem... jam est Corpus Christi.
Ibid.; see also, PL, 16/17: 459-61.

⁴⁸Works, 4: 58.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 98.

⁵⁰The Durham Book, p. 166.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 167, for a comparison of the texts.

⁵²Ibid., p. 168.

⁵³Appello Caesarem, p. 292.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 293.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 293-96.

⁵⁶1628 Articles, p. A, 3[V].

⁵⁷Ibid., p. A, 3[R].

⁵⁸Buxton, Eucharist and Institution Narrative, pp. 134-35, 138, 141; John M. Harkley, The Worship of the Reformed Church (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), p. 51. For the rubric in the Directory, see, Bard Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church (New York: World Publishing, 1961), p. 370.

⁵⁹1631 Articles, pp. A, 3[R-V]; 1637 Articles, p. A, 3[R].

⁶⁰1638 Articles, p. B, 4[R].

⁶¹Ibid., p. A, 3[R].

⁶²*Nam apud Catholicos haec verba [hoc est corpus meum] sunt de essentia sacramenti, et sunt operatoria, ut Ambrosius testatur lib. iv. de Sacramentis, cap. iv. Apud haereticos autem etiamsi haec verba non proprie dicantur forma sacramenti, nec censeantur operatoria... Opera, 4: 40.*

⁶³Works, 6 (Part 2): 652.

⁶⁴ST, 3a.78.1. Thomas taught that if a priest says the words, *Hoc est corpus meum* and *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, with the intention of consecrating, he has validly consecrated. Some Lutherans, however, while also asserting that it is Christ's word which consecrates, insisted upon the entire institution narrative and rejected the limitation of the form of consecration to these words. See, e.g., Chemnitz, Examinis, 2: 65; Examination, 2: 224.

⁶⁵Works, 5 (Part 2): 399.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 424.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 440.

⁶⁸Ibid., 6 (Part 2): 458. The rubrics of the 1604 liturgy directed the priest to take the paten in his hands at the words, "took bread", to break the bread at "he broke it" and to lay his hand upon all the bread when he said, "this is my Body which is given for you". At the words, "he took the cup", the priest was to take the cup in his hand; when he said, "is my Blood of the New Testament", he was to lay his hand upon every vessel (chalice or flagon) in which there was any wine to be consecrated. Similarly, the Scottish Liturgy directed the celebrant to take the paten in his hand at the words, "took bread" and to take the chalice and lay his hand upon any chalice or flagon which he intended to consecrate at the words, "took the cup". Liturgiae Britannicae, pp. 214-16.

⁶⁹Works, 7: 661.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Buxton has argued that Laud understood the words of institution in the same sense as Thomas Morton, that is, not as consecratory, but as words of direction, signifying and testifying to the effects of the sacrament. The purpose of the institution narrative at the consecration of a new supply of bread or wine serving to link the new elements to the effect of the whole eucharistic prayer already recited. Eucharist and Institution Narrative, pp. 116-17, 127. This, however, would be to ignore the central role which Laud consistently attributed to the words of Christ from as early as his comments on Bellarmine's Disputationes. Buxton unfortunately ignored these earlier sources and argued only on the basis of Laud's A History of the Troubles and Tryal.

⁷³Ibid., 3: 353 (History of the Troubles and Tryal); see also, William Prynne, Canterburies Doome (London: John Macock, 1646), p. 35. For Laud's supposed association with the production of this service book, see Prynne, pp. 31, 34. For the accusations against Laud that he attempted to "alter and subvert God's true Religion by law established in this realm", see, William Corbett, Corbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, 33 vols. (London: R. Bagshaw, 1809-1828), 4: 327. It is maintained by scholars today that Laud in fact had little to do with the creation of the Scottish Liturgy. See, for example, Gordon Donaldson, The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1954), pp. 78-83, and Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies, pp. 1-7. Laud himself disavowed responsibility for its production (Works, 3: 337, 356), but he also defended its doctrinal content and extolled its virtues (ibid., pp. 335, 344, 428). It may be true, moreover, that the Scottish Liturgy owed as much to Scottish Presbyterianism as to Laudian Anglicanism. See, William McMillan, The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1638 (London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1930), p. 176.

⁷⁴Works, 3: 354.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 355.

⁷⁶A Re-Examination of the Five Articles Enacted at Perth anno 1618 . (1636), pp. 92-95.

⁷⁷Considerationes, 2: 530.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 536; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 3: 314.

⁷⁹Institution, 4:17:39.

⁸⁰CR, 73: 706; McDonnell, John Calvin, pp. 236-37.

⁸¹Considerationes, 2: 530.

⁸²Barkley has pointed out that in 1622, it was protested that Patrick Galloway had conducted a service without a blessing upon the elements, and in 1620, David Calderwood described a Scottish Communion as having an epiclesis, which had been the practice of the church for sixty years. The Worship of the Reformed Church, p. 50.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 532, 534.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 534.

⁸⁵Ibid.; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 2: 71-72.

⁸⁶Considerationes, 2: 536. See also, Des. Erasmi Rot. Operum Nonus Tomus Complectens Ipsius Apologias Adversus Eos Qui Illum Locis Alioquot (Basilae: In Officina Frobeniana Per Hieronymum Frobenius et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1540), p. 868.

⁸⁷Considerationes, 2: 536.

⁸⁸Works, 2: 190-91.

⁸⁹Ibid., 14: 468-69.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 469.

⁹¹The footnote given by the editor of Taylor's Works is to Nicholas Cabasilas, rather than to St. Basil, and as shall be seen later, Taylor in another passage ascribed this phrase to Cabasilas.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., p. 470.

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 471-72.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 473.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid., 9: 458-59.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 463.

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 463-64.

¹⁰⁰For a text of the Roman canon, see, The Missal in Latin and English, p. 200.

¹⁰¹Works, 9: 498.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 462.

¹⁰³Τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων λόγον, ἐν εἰδει διηγήσεως λεγόμενον, πρὸς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν δώρων ἀρκεῖν, οὐδεὶς, οὔτε τῶν ἀπόστολων οὔτε τῶν διδασκάλων εἰπὼν φαίνεται. PG, 150: 433 (Liturgiae Expositio, c. xxix). See also, Commentary on the Divine Liturgy, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴Works, 9: 461.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 461-62. It can also be pointed out that the second recantation of Berengarius in 1073 still taught that the consecration was effected *per mysterium sacrae orationis et verba nostri Redemptoris*. See, Henry Denzinger, ed., Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum, 32nd. ed. by Adolfus Schönmetzer (Barcinoni: Herder, 1963), p. 230 (No. 700).

¹⁰⁷Works, 14: 24 (Ductor Dubitantium, or The Rule of Conscience in All Her General Measures; Serving as a Great Instrument for the Determination of Cases of Conscience).

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 10: 514.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 515. See also, The Greek Liturgies, pp. 272-79.

¹¹⁰PG, 150: 429, 432 (Liturgiae Expositio); Commentary on the Divine Liturgy, pp. 72-75.

¹¹¹His criticism came first in 1646 in a short booklet entitled A Discourse of Prayer Extempore, and was later expanded in 1649 in An Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy. See, Stranks, The Life and Times of Jeremy Taylor, p. 90.

¹¹²Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church, pp. 369-70.

¹¹³Porter, Jeremy Taylor, pp. 77 ff.; Grisbrooke, Anglican Liturgies, pp. 193-94; Taylor, Works, 15: 299-30.

¹¹⁴The Greek Liturgies, pp. 129, 160-61. Taylor's liturgy differs from the Eastern liturgies inasmuch as he places the epiclesis prior to the words of institution, while they have it at the end of the eucharistic prayer after the narrative. Porter, Jeremy Taylor, p. 77.

¹¹⁵Institution, 4:17:39.

¹¹⁶Maxwell, The Liturgical Portions of the Genevan Service Book, pp. 121-27.

¹¹⁷The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, Commonly Known as John Knox's Liturgy, ed., G. W. Sprott & T. Leishman (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1868), pp. 121-28.

¹¹⁸Thompson, Liturgies of the Western Church, pp. 369-70. This Reformed service comes closest to Taylor's theology by stating that the elements are "set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the Word of Institution and Prayer". Ibid., p. 369. Nonetheless, it still directed the institution narrative to be read outside of and prior to the eucharistic prayer, and allowed the minister to explain their meaning and significance, implying, it would seem, that they are recited for the benefit of the people's understanding of the rite.

¹¹⁹Works, 1: 221.

¹²⁰Ibid. For Thorndike's discussion of the role of priesthood in relation to the eucharist, see, Works, 1 (Part 2): 481-82, 833; 5: 15.

¹²¹Ibid., 1: 257-58; see also, pp. 329, 337. Interestingly, Thorndike interpreted the giving of thanks in St. Paul's discourse on speaking in tongues (I Cor. 14: 15-16) as a reference to that thanksgiving "which from the beginning the Eucharist was consecrated". Ibid., pp. 336-37.

¹²²Ibid., p. 380.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 340-41.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 342.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 343.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 344.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 342.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 346.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 348.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 349. St. Ambrose wrote, *Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur*. PL, 16/17: 407 (*De Mysteriis*, lib. 1, c. 9). Also, *Dixi vobis quod ante verba Christi quod offertur, panis dicatur: ubi Christi verba deprompta fuerint, jam non panis dictum, sed corpus appellatur* (*De Consec.*, dist. 2, c. In calicem, p. Dixi verbis). Ibid., p. 452 (*De Sacramentis*, lib. 5, c. 4). See also, Thorndike, Works, 1: 347.

¹³¹Works, 1: 349. The words of the Roman "communion epiciclesis" are: *Ut quotquot ex hac Altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii Tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione coelesti et gratia repleamur...* Ibid.; see also, The Missale in Latin and English, pp. 700, 702. For another discussion of the Roman canon, see, Works, 4: 56)58.

¹³²Irenaeus' words are: 'Οπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγυνώς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ... PG, 7: 1125 (*Contra Haereses*, lib. 5).

¹³³Works, 2 (Part 2): 858 (A Review of the Service of God at Religious Assemblies). Justin's words are slightly different from the English translation given by Thorndike. They spoke of the "prayer of the word from Him" (ἡ οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν ...). The Latin text phrases it as "through the prayer containing His words" (... *in qua per precem ipsius verba continentem*...). PG, 6: 427-28 (Apologia I Pro Christianis).

¹³⁴Works, 1 (Part 2): 855-57 (A Review of the Service of God at Religious Assemblies); see also, 4: 51-53 (Epilogue).

¹³⁵Ibid., 1 (Part 2): 839-40.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 839. Here he distinguished between forms prescribed "virtually" and those prescribed "actually" (specifically).

¹³⁷Ibid., 5: 15-16 (A Letter Concerning the Present State of Religion). Six years earlier, Thorndike had expressed only doubt concerning the celebrations of his Puritan opponents: "... and of the pretence of an Eucharist three or four times a year - but whether consecrated or no, who knows?" (A Review of the Service of God at Religious Assemblies). Ibid., 1 (Part 2): 852.

¹³⁸Ibid., 5: 16.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴⁰Works, p. 710 (A Reformed Catholike).

¹⁴¹Works, 4: 5; see also, p. 36, and 5: 543 (The Reformation of the Church of England). Thorndike's editor has labelled this position as 'Calvinist'. This seems hardly just, since Calvin certainly did not teach any such thing. In his Institution, he stated that Christ's body is offered to *all* communicants, regardless of faith. The *reception* of the body, however, is possible only by the faithful. (Institution, 4: 17:33). This is a long way from attributing the sacramental presence to faith.

¹⁴²Works, 4: 13.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 16. While the individual's faith does not create the eucharistic presence, yet, according to Thorndike, faith is involved, i.e., the Church's faith is the effectual cause. It is the "profession of that common Christianity, which makes men members of God's Church" which causes the body and blood of Christ to be sacramentally present in the elements, the faith of those who "believing God's promise proceed to execute His ordinances, that they may obtain the same". Ibid., pp. 36-38.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 5-6.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 44; see also, Die Bekenntnisschriften, pp. 11, 1047.

¹⁵⁰Thorndike appealed to the passage in which Chemnitz compared iron in fire to the hypostatical union, such that while the iron and fire were not separable, yet they were distinct in their natures. See, The Two Natures in Christ, pp. 289-91.

¹⁵¹Works, 4: 45.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 41. See also, pp. 45-46: "... but the concurrence of both natures to the effecting of those works, wherein the Mediator's office is seen, whereupon depends that honour and worship, which the Manhood challenges in the person of Christ, as inseparable from the Godhead, to which originally that honour is due".

¹⁵³Such as, Heb. 1: 3, Acts 2: 33, Eph. 1: 20-22, St. John 3: 34. Ibid., 45-46. Also, The Two Natures, pp. 411-22.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 4: 46.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 46-47.

¹⁵⁷In his Reformation of the Church of England (1670-72), Thorndike argued that acceptance of ubiquity would mean that the presence of Christ did not depend on anything which the Church does in celebrating the sacrament, i.e., on the consecration. If Christ's body and blood are present everywhere, why celebrate the sacrament at all? Ibid., 5: 543-44.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 4: 58.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 58-68.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁶¹*Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconueniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus. PL, 77: 956-57 (Epistola xii. Ad Joannem Syracusanum Episcopum). See also, Thorndike, Works, 4: 64.*

¹⁶²Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεδεμένα. Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα, ὧν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγαλὴν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας

παραλαβόντες. PG, 32: 188 (De Spiritu Sancto). See also, Thorndike, Works, 4: 60.

¹⁶³Works, 4: 64-65.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 67; see also, 1 (Part 2): 547.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 4: 68 (Epilogue). Added in the margin next to "order of the Church" is the following: "What order? that order, which I maintain by the reasons premised to be their order, containing more than the Lord's Prayer". Ibid., ft.nt. x.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 5: 174. It can be noted here that the Lutherans in the sixteenth century had accused the Reformed of making the eucharistic presence dependent upon the faith of the communicants: ... *auf den geistlichen und innerlichen Gebrauch des Glaubens, deuten, als wäre es den Unwürdigen kein Sakrament, und geschehe die Niessung des Leibs Christi allein geistlich durch den Glauben, oder als [machete] der Glaube den Leib Christi im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig und derhalben die unwürdigen, ungläubigen Heuchler den Leib Christi nicht gegenwärtig empfangen. Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 1002 (Konkordienformel: Solida Declaratio, VII).*

¹⁷⁰Works, 5: 324 (The True Principle of Comprehension: or a Petition against the Presbyterian Request for a Comprehensive Act, 1667 [first published in the LACT edition]).

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 182.

¹⁷²Liturgiae Britannicae, pp. 215-16.

¹⁷³Works, 5: 245-46 [emphasis is mine].

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 544.

¹⁷⁵The medieval Byzantine theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas, for example, had argued that the *verba* alone do not consecrate, and that only after the epiclesis does the eucharistic transformation occur: ... ὅπως αὐτῷ παρέδωκε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, καὶ ὡς ἐδέξατο ποτήριον, καὶ ὡς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἡγίασε. καὶ ὡς εἶπε δι' ὧν ἐδήλωσε τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἀνειπῶν, εἶτα προσπίπτει, καὶ εὐχεται καὶ ἐκετεύει, τὰς θείας ἐκείνας φωνὰς τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐφαρμόσας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων, καὶ δεξάμενα τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδυνάμενον Πνεῦμα μεταβληθῆναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ οἶνος εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄχραντον αὐτὸν αἷμα. Τούτων δὲ εἰρημένων, τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἱεουργίας ἡνυστα, καὶ τετέλεσται... Τοῦτο διὰ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελέσιουργεῖ... Αὕτη τῆς ἱερωσύνης δύναμις, οὗτος ὁ ἱερέυς. PG; 150: 425,

428 (*Expositio Liturgiae*); *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, pp. 69, 71. For the same emphasis on the epiclesis, see the response of Jeremiah II to the Lutherans. *Acta et Scripta*, p. 86.

¹⁷⁶Forbes, of course, would not have been affected by the Scottish Liturgy, since he died before its publication. For the similarity between the prayer of consecration in the 1549 and 1637 liturgies and in Cosin's *Durham Book*, see, Cuming, *The Durham Book*, p. xxiv. For Thorndike's attitude to these two earlier rites, *supra*, p. 407. Taylor's own eucharistic rite was patterned in certain respects after the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 (Porter, *Jeremy Taylor*, pp. 75 ff.), and it, as well as Eastern liturgies, undoubtedly, influenced him with respect to the epiclesis.

VIII: EUCHARISTIC ADORATION

The doctrine of sacramental presence inevitably raises the question of eucharistic adoration, i.e., is it possible, and if so, to what extent is it appropriate, to worship Christ in the sacrament? This was an issue which had plagued the English Church since the early days of her reformation in terms of the kneeling question. The Black Rubric of the 1552 rite had been added precisely in order to satisfy those who opposed kneeling at the reception of holy communion on the grounds that it implied the adoration of the sacramental elements or a supposed "real and essential presence" of Christ's "natural flesh and blood". The rubric denied this, maintaining that kneeling was only an appropriate posture to signify humble thanks for "the benefits of Christ" and to avoid "profanation and disorder".¹ The elevation of the sacrament had already been abandoned in the 1549 Book,² but kneeling to receive the eucharist still conjured up the old Roman mass in the minds of some Englishmen.

In 1572 the issue was still a burning one, with the Puritan An Admonition to Parliament stating: "Then [in early centuries] they ministred the Sacrament with common and usual bread: ... They receaved it sitting: we kneelyng, according to Honorius' Decree".³ The conflict continued into the seventeenth century, with the Puritan party in the Church of England maintaining that kneeling to receive holy communion simply did not accord with a Reformed doctrine of the sacrament, which, after all, was what the English Church officially espoused. In the 1605 A Protestation Concerning Kneeling in the Very Act of Receiving, William Bradshaw argued that such a practice was opposed to that "of all reformed Churches". To claim that it was

instituted "for reverence in regard of bread and wine" could only mean one of two things: 1) either, reverence is due them because they *represent* the body and blood - and then for the same reason one "may worship the Crucifix" - 2) or, because Christ is present in them, as the "heresies" of transubstantiation and consubstantiation teach. Kneeling, according to this Protestation, is nothing but the "daughter and Nurse" of the Roman and Lutheran doctrines. "But I detest your reall presence", Bradshaw continued, "therefore I abhor your Idolatrous Kneeling."⁴ Bradshaw, as well as other Puritans,⁵ obviously was not convinced that the *required* custom of kneeling⁶ was only a question of propriety and reverence. One might paraphrase their argument this way: If the English Church holds a Reformed doctrine of the eucharist, why does she enjoin a liturgical practice which better expresses the Lutheran or Roman doctrine and implies an adoration of Christ as "locally" present in the sacrament? With this debate as the backdrop for our discussion of eucharistic adoration, we can now turn to the Caroline divines themselves.

As we have tried to demonstrate in previous chapters, Saravia's understanding of eucharistic presence was in many ways similar to that of the Lutherans. In terms of eucharistic adoration, this is seen even more clearly, and his position contrasts sharply with that of the Puritans. One should keep in mind that his De Sacra Eucharistia was written just about the same time, or shortly after, Bradshaw's A Protestation. Although Saravia stated that he would not concern himself to argue against those churches which had decided in favour of sitting at the table to receive the sacrament, provided they included that faith and piety which the majesty of so great a mystery require, he clearly defended kneeling at the eucharist against those who

objected to the practice of the church in which they lived, i.e., the Puritans.⁷ Men are afraid, he argued, of the adoration of bread if the eucharist is taken on bended knees, but this is a fear which occurred in no other time: *Metuitur hodie, quod antehac nunquam, Panis adoratio, si flexis genibus sumatur Eucharistia.*⁸ Some prefer to sit in order to avoid the worship of bread, but this is a practice which is done without any authority or example of the orthodox who have come before: *Hodie tamen multis, vitandae artolatriae gratia, placeret sessio ad mensam, quamvis orthodoxorum qui nos praecesserunt, id nullo fiat exemplo.*⁹ Rather than bread worship, one ought to fear that one might not worship that which is there and then put forward for the worship of the faithful, Saravia asserted: *Mihi multo magis metuendum videtur ne quis non adoret Quod illic tunc adorandum fidelibus proponitur.*¹⁰ What is this new idea, he asked, which has come over the minds of Christians that they would rather testify by sitting at the Lord's Table that they do not worship that which *no one* has ever said ought to be worshipped, than confess by kneeling that they worship that which all the orthodox have judged ought to be worshipped: *Quae nova haec animos Christianorum incessit religio, ut malint sedendo testari se non adorare, quod nemo unquam adorandum docuit, potius quam genuculando profiteri adorare se Quod tunc imprimis omnes orthodoxi adorandum esse censuere?*¹¹ Given this explicit and strong defence of kneeling, it is hard to understand Nijenhuis' statements that Saravia "considered the ceremony of kneeling, sitting or standing for communion an 'adiaphoron'", and that "Any ceremony is acceptable which is intended as an expression of reverence for the mystery of the present Lord".¹² Saravia might have considered it an adiaphoron in the absolute sense, since he would not argue with other churches which

had abolished kneeling, but he certainly did not regard it as an indifferent or inconsequential matter when Puritans within the Church of England refused to kneel, claiming they wanted to avoid ἀρτολατρεία.

As has been seen, Saravia declared himself in favour of the worship of that which was "there and then put forward". Moreover, he expressly stated that the majesty of the sacrament is so great that if anyone considers what it is which he holds in his hands, i.e., the crucified flesh of Christ and the blood of the New Testament, he will be so moved in his soul with awe and wonder that he will want to prostrate himself totally before the tribunal of God's grace:

*Majestas hujus Sacramenti tanta est ut si quis
fide cogitet Quid sit Quod manibus tenet quando
Panem Poculumve accipit, orique suo applicat,
nempe Carnem esse Christi Domini sui Crucifixam,
et fusum Novi Testamenti Sanguinem, adeoque
Ipsam Novum Testamentum, non admiratione Ipsarum
Rerum percussus se totum prosternat ante
tribunal gratiae Dei.*¹³

Wherever the true doctrine of the sacraments prevails, Saravia argued, there is no need to fear excessive reverence, either internally of the soul, or externally of the body: *Nulla meo judicio, nec mentis interior nec corporis exterior nimia metuenda est reverentia, ubi viget vera de Sacramentis Doctrina.*¹⁴ In these passages, Saravia claimed that it is the presence of Christ's body which is held in the communicant's hands, and that one should adore both with soul and body that which is "there and then put forward for the adoration of the faithful" (*Quod illic tunc adorandum fidelibus proponitur*). As Darwell Stone has written, "[Saravia's] assertions that the consecrated Sacrament is the body and blood of Christ are many and clear; they are carried to the conclusions that if the wicked communicate, they receive the body of Christ, and that our Lord is to be adored as present in the

consecrated species".¹⁵

Saravia, moreover, exonerated in his own mind both the Romans and the Lutherans from the charge of bread-worship. The Papalists, he maintained, do not teach that it is bread which is to be worshipped. They are careful to admonish the people that the outward forms, which they call *accidentia*, are not to be adored, but only the body and blood which are hidden under the visible forms.¹⁶ Likewise, the German theologians, who believe that Christ's body is either in the bread, under its form or together with it, have never taught that the bread itself is to be worshipped.¹⁷ Saravia's willingness to offer an *apologia* for the Roman Catholics and Lutherans, when joined with his own positive teaching on adoration, suggests that his thinking in this matter was not far from that of the Gnesio-lutherans.

One must keep in mind that the Gnesio-lutherans, following Luther's lead, had taught the legitimacy of adoring Christ in the eucharistic elements. Luther, in addition to retaining the elevation in both the German and Latin Masses,¹⁸ explicitly stated in 1525 that while he did not teach that the form of bread is to be adored, he did teach that the body of Christ in the bread is to be honoured: ... *Denn wir leren nicht des brods gestalt anbeten fürchten odder ehrlich halten noch des HERRN tod vergessen, Sondern den leib und blut Christi eren wir im brod, wie er [Carlstadt] selbs wol meis...*¹⁹ There is also a report that when Luther was asked by the three princely brothers of Anhalt whether they ought to abolish the elevation, he responded that this should by no means be done, since to do so would lessen the authority of the sacrament. It was one thing, he argued, to carry about the sacrament, but another thing to elevate it. Furthermore, since Christ is truly present in the bread, why should He not be revered and adored:

*De elevatione sacramenti et adoratione. D[ector] M[artinus] interrogatus a tribus fratibus principibus Anhaltensibus, an ipsi abrogare debeant elevationem sacramenti, r[espondit]: Minime! Nam video eam abrogationem minuere auctoritatem sacramenti et contemptibilius fieri. Igitur non probavi, inquit, quod me absente D[ector] Pomer elevationem abrogavit, et cogito de restitutione. Nam alia res circumferri, alia elevari. Praeterea cum Christus vere adest in pane, cur non ibi summa reverentia tractaretur et adoraretur etiam? Igitur, dixit, in vestro ducatu non abrogate!*²⁰

A few years before his death, Luther still confessed the adoration of the sacrament when he stated that in the venerable sacrament of the altar, which one is to worship with all honour, the natural body and blood of Christ are given and received: *In dem hochwirdigen Sacrament des Altars, das man mit allen ehren anbeten sol, wird gereicht und empfangen warhaftig der natürliche Leib und Blut des HERRN Jhesu Christi, beide von wirdigen und unwirdigen.*²¹ Elevation was for purposes of adoration, as R. T. Beckwith has pointed out, and consequently, the Lutherans were inclined to retain the custom.²²

Within sixteenth-century Lutheranism a battle had been fought over the adoration question. Hardt has pointed to Joachim Westphal (1510-1574), one of the defenders of the adoration of the sacrament, who enumerated various usages which accompanied the Gnesio-lutheran veneration of the eucharist: bowing one's head, genuflecting, falling down on the knees, raising one's hands, beating one's breast and using the sacring bell at the elevation.²³ The feast of the victory of Lutheranism (*Lutherthums*) over Melancthonianism was celebrated in the principality of Brandenburg with prayers for the preservation of the doctrine of justification by faith and the doctrine of the sacrament's adoration.²⁴ This party within Lutheranism, ostensibly, was among those whom Saravia exonerated from the charge of bread-worship.

Andrewes' understanding of eucharistic adoration contained more distinctions than did that of Saravia. On the one hand, he attacked the Roman practice, and on the other, he still attempted to retain a certain adoration of Christ in the sacrament. As has already been seen, Andrewes rejected the adoration of the reserved sacrament.²⁵ In addition, in his 1610 *Responsio* he argued that there was a problem with adoration *within* the Roman celebration of the eucharist tied to the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Roman theologian, Garnettus,²⁶ he claimed, had admitted an ambiguity and incertitude connected with transubstantiation, when he acknowledged that one is not constrained to believe that any particular priest has at a particular time made the bread into the body of Christ.²⁷ Garnettus concluded from this that no one is bound to believe that any particular host has with certainty been transubstantiated: '*Non tenetur quis*' (ait Garnettus) '*ut temere credat, Hostiam hanc certo Transubstantiatam*'.²⁸ On this basis, Andrewes argued, if transubstantiation is something which one believes *in genere*, and not *in individuo*, it ought to be enough for the people to adore in like manner, only *in genere*. The elevation and adoration of the sacrament as practised within the Roman Church, however, directs worship to be done *in individuo* since the priest elevates a particular host for adoration. The uncertain act of the priest (because it is an act *in genere*) gives rise to the *certain* act of the people, i.e., adoration given *in individuo* to a particular host:

*An vero, Sacerdoti si satis, ut 'credat in genere',
etiamne et populo satis, ut 'adore in genere'?
Transubstantiationi' quidem adoratio 'actus commen-
suratus'. 'Transubstantiationem' sacerdos non
credit, nisi 'in genere', in individuo non 'credit';
'in individuo' tamen elevat, et jubet adorare.
Quid populus, Et ille etiam, nisi 'in genere' non*

credit? (nec enim aequum, ut 'majore' fide sit, quam Sacerdos) credit ergo 'in genere', non individuo, adorat 'in individuo', non 'genere'. Tum Sacerdotis 'actus incertus' ('transubstantio' scilicet) populi certus, (nempe adoratio), Populi autem 'certus', ex Sacerdotis 'incerto'.²⁹

Moreover, if the elevated host is adored, as having been transubstantiated into the body of Christ, and it has not been properly changed (both priest and people remaining uncertain about the state of any particular host), adoration is, consequently, given to a piece of bread and not to Christ. The cult of the transubstantiated host, therefore, involves an uncertainty which can result in idolatry:

Sacerdos enim, 'si certus' ipse non est: cur ergo, quasi 'certus' sit, Hostiam sic a se (necsit an) 'transubstantiatam' populo proponat adorandam? Populus autem, 'incertior' multo de Sacerdotis actu alieno, quam Sacerdos de suo, cur adoret propositam? An rite 'transubstantiavit' nescitur, (et est hic 'sicut populus, sic Sacerdos') si rite non transubstantiavit, Christus ibi non est, 'crustulum' modo. Si 'crustulum' modo est, 'crustulo' Latria exhibetur: Parum autem id aberit ab 'Idololatria'.³⁰

In these passages, Andrewes put forward a theological attack on the adoration of the elevated sacrament - no particular host ought to be made the object of worship, lest idolatry occur. This was a sophisticated defence (perhaps derived from Bishop Jewel³¹) of King James I's repudiation of the elevation,³² which was founded on the teaching of the Articles of Religion that the sacrament was not intended to be lifted up and worshipped.³³

Andrewes' teaching also contains a positive assessment of adoration in the sacrament. To begin with, in both his 1610 Visitation Articles in the diocese of Ely and in his 1619 Articles for the diocese of Winchester, he scrupulously inquired as to whether the priest received holy communion kneeling and administered it only to communicants who knelt.³⁴ In his 1629 *Stricturae*, he distinguished

adoration as *cultum divinum* from adoration as *venerationem*. The former is offered to the flesh of Christ or to Christ Himself as the *res sacramenti*, while the latter pertains to the sacramental symbols, which remain after the consecration. The veneration or honour shown to the external sacrament was proper and was practised by the Church of England, according to Andrewes. Responding to Cardinal du Perron's insistence upon adoration with external gestures and acts,³⁵ the bishop argued that St. Cyril (appealed to by du Perron) had the communicant "κῡπτειν, that is, to bow himself, and cast his eyes to the ground; that is, in humble and reverent manner. And so do we".³⁶ Likewise, "And we (by the grace of God) hold the Sacrament to be venerable, and with all due respect to be handled and received".³⁷ Therefore, according to Andrewes, veneration and honour were due even to the earthly part of the eucharist, but no divine adoration could be legitimately offered it. Unfortunately, he never explained *why* this limited and "secondary" veneration was appropriate, or how it was theologically defensible.

Adoration, however, was not limited by Andrewes to the reverential handling of the bread and wine. Nineteen years before his *Stricturae*, he had acknowledged in his *Responsio* that divine adoration is appropriately given to the *inner reality* of the sacrament, the *res*, which is Christ. Andrewes disliked Cardinal Bellarmine's expression, *Adorationem Sacramenti Eucharistiae*,³⁸ because it did not distinguish between the two parts of the sacrament, earthly and heavenly, visible and invisible:

In 'adoratione Sacramenti', ad limen ipsum turpiter impingit. 'Sacramenti', ait, id est 'Christi Domini in Sacramento, miro, sed vero modo praesentis'. Apage vero. Quis ei hoc dederit? 'Sacramenti, id est, Christis in Sacramento'. Imo Christus ipse Sacramenti res, in, et cum Sacramento; extra, et sine Sacramento,

ubi ubi est, 'adorandus' est. Rex autem Christum in Eucharistia vere 'praesentem', vere et 'adorandum' statuit, rem scilicet Sacramenti; at non Sacramentum, 'terrenam' scilicet 'partem', ut Irenaeus; 'visibilem', ut Augustinus.

This meant for Andrewes that the sacrament is not to be adored: *Et Sacramentum tamen nulli adoramus.*⁴⁰ The distinction which he made is between Christ, the *res* of the sacrament, and the earthly elements of bread and wine. The Bishop did not differentiate between *χριστο-λατρεία* and *σωμαλατρεία*, since he also asserted that *Nos vero 'et in mysteriis carnem Christi' adoramus... and Nec 'carnem manducamus, quin adoremus prius...'*⁴¹

These passages might be interpreted to mean only an adoration within the celebration, but there is one statement of Andrewes' which suggests that he conceived of the worship of Christ present on the altar: *... et non, 'id', sed, 'Eum qui super Altar colitur'*.⁴² Here he was arguing on the basis of a passage from St. Gregory of Nyssa (*supra*, p. 227, ft.nt. 60), which had earlier been used by Chemnitz to show that the ancients worshipped Christ, not only in the Supper, but also on the altar: *Huc pertinent etiam illae antiquitatis sententiae, quae docent, veteres veneratos esse, & adorasse Christum Deum, & hominem, imo carnem Christi non tantum in Coelo; sed in ipso etiam Altari, ubi tractabantur mysteria. Nazianz. de Gorgonia sorore...*⁴³

While Andrewes did not assert so strongly as did Chemnitz that Christ is present on the earthly altar and *there* is to be adored, at the very least, he allowed for this possibility, being concerned only to distinguish adoration of Christ from adoration of bread. In this sense, his position was similar to that of the Lutheran *Konkordien-formel* of the previous century, which in very guarded and careful language had stated that the elements, or the visible forms of bread and wine, are not to be adored, but that only an Arian heretic would

refuse to adore Christ as truly and essentially present in the Supper:

*Item, do gelehret wird, dass die Element, sichtliche 'species' oder Gestalt des gesegneten Brots und Weins, angebetet sollen werden; dass aber Christus selber, wahrer Gott und Mensch, so im Abendmahl wahrhaftig und wesentlich gegenwärtig, in wahren Brauch deselben solle im Geiste und in der Wahrheit, wie auch an allen andern Orten, sunderlich da sein Gemein versammelt, angebetet werden, kann und wird niemand leugnen, er Sei dann ein arianischer Ketzer.*⁴⁴

The phrase *im Abendmahl* is vague enough to admit of various interpretations, but it must be remembered that this confession also specifically spoke of Christ's presence *im Brot und Wein im Abendmahl*.⁴⁵ Neither the framers of the Konkordienformel nor Andrewes explicitly drew the conclusion that Christ is to be adored under the forms of bread and wine, yet both used language which allows for the adoration of Christ present in places on earth. One might legitimately conclude that Andrewes was coming dangerously close to the position which Puritans had accused the defenders of kneeling as holding.

Montague does not seem to have been particularly interested in the question of the adoration of Christ in the eucharist, since he did not deal with it in either of his works which discuss the sacrament. Nor did he provide us with a theological defence of kneeling to receive holy communion. In all of his Visitation Articles, however, he insisted that the custom be observed. In the 1628, 1631 and 1637 Articles for the diocese of Chichester, he asked whether the priest "first reverently upon his knees receive himselfe, and then severally, and distinctly give it to the communicants, they meekely kneeling, and not standing or sitting either at the Table or upon some bench".⁴⁶

In the 1638 Articles for Norwich, he expanded this slightly:

Doth he next to himselfe give it [the sacrament] to Clergy-men, if any be present, that they may

assist him in giving the Cup, and afterwards to every Communicant, not standing, going up and downe, but humbly expecting till it be brought and presented unto him, in such places of the Chancell as the Ordinary hath already appointed, or shall hereafter think fit: doth he receive it from the Minister meekly kneeling upon his knees, which ⁴⁷is the fitting posture for Communicants:

Montague, undoubtedly, was concerned that the rubrics of the communion rite be observed against Puritan infractions. One can only wish that he had explained *why* kneeling is a fitting posture at the reception of holy communion.

Forbes, however, provided us with a carefully considered defence of kneeling at holy communion. The "more rigid Protestants" (*rigidiorum Protestantium*), he argued in his *Considerationes Modestae*, are greatly in error when they claim that Christ is to be adored in the eucharist only with an internal and mental adoration, but not with any outward rite of worship, such as kneeling. Those theologians with few exceptions, he claimed, hold wrong views concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.⁴⁸ The rigid Protestants to whom he referred included the Puritans: *Vide sis multos Protestantes, praesertim Anglos, qui de exteriori adoratione Christi in Eucharistia adversus Puritanos, quos appellant, scripserunt.*⁴⁹ To condemn outward gestures of adoration, which most Christians from the earliest times have observed, either by standing or kneeling or in some other fashion, is surely an act of great rashness and audacity (*magnae profecto temeritatis et audaciae est*), he claimed.⁵⁰

Forbes also defended the Romans against the charge of bread-worship. Many Protestants, he observed, have objected that the Papalists are guilty of idolatry in their adoration of the consecrated host.⁵¹ It would seem that Forbes had in mind, among others, Calvin, the English

Puritans and some of his fellow Scots, who had denounced the Roman cult of the sacrament as superstitious and idolatrous.⁵² In contrast, Forbes maintained that, while the Romans might be wrong in their belief that the consecrated host is no longer bread (*non esse amplius panem*), they, nevertheless, did not adore the bread, but only the body of Christ, which is the proper object of adoration. He appealed to a statement by Suarez that *Christ* is to be adored and *not* the sacramental species.⁵³ He also cited Cassander, the Archbishop of Spalatro, John Barnes and others in his argumentation that idolatry is not committed if the intention is to adore Christ.⁵⁴ Moreover, he asserted, all the Greek Orthodox faithful adore Christ in the eucharist, and who would dare to excommunicate and condemn all those Christians as guilty of idolatry.⁵⁵ What Forbes rejected with regard to the Roman cult of the sacrament was what Andrewes had also explicitly repudiated, i.e., adoration apart from use (*supra*, p. 191). After including passages from Cassander, Erasmus and others, he cited Bishop Andrewes' statement that carrying the eucharist about is contrary to the precept and design of Christ, since as sacrifice it is to be consumed and as sacrament it is to be eaten, and is not to be stored up and carried about.⁵⁶

The foundation of Forbes' positive assessment of adoration is to be found in his emphasis on the *actio* or *usus* of the sacrament. The worthy recipient of the visible signs receives into his very body the body of Christ in a spiritual and miraculous manner; he ought, therefore, to adore the body of Christ, not in or under the bread, but the body which he receives with (*cum*) the bread, and which is present in the communion. The words which Forbes chose as expressing his own thinking are those of Archbishop de Dominis:

*Quod ad adorationem huius Sacramenti attinet;
quum 'qui digne sumit S. Symbola, vere et
realiter corpus et sanguinem Christi in se*

corporaliter, modo tamen quodam spirituali, miraculoso, et imperceptibili sumat; omnis digne communicans adorare potest, et debet corpus Christi quod recipit, non quod lateat corporaliter in pane, aut sub pane, aut sub speciebus et accidentibus panis; sed quod quando digne sumitur panis sacramentalis, tunc etiam sumitur cum pane Christi corpus reale, illi communioni realiter praesens', ut inquit Archiepiscopus Spalatensis.

Again, using Archbishop de Dominis' words as an example of sound Protestant teaching, Forbes emphasized adoration in the *usus*, in the reception of the eucharist. Christ is to be adored with λατρεία, and this adoration is not due to the bread or the wine or the participation or the eating, but is to be directed immediately to Christ's body exhibited through the reception of the eucharist, ... *haec adoratio ... ipsi Christi corpori immediate per sumptionem Eucharistiae exhibito debetur et perficitur.*⁵⁸

The immediate source of much of Forbes' thinking in this matter was, as has been pointed out, Archbishop de Dominis. His position also has much in common with the teaching developed by the Lutheran divine Johann Gerhard in his *Loci* earlier in the century. Gerhard, for example, was of the opinion that the dispute with the Romans did not concern the question of whether Christ, who is present in the action of the Supper distributing His body and blood, ought to be adored: *Quando cum Pontificiis de Veneratione Sacramenti disputatur, non est proprie quaestio. 1. An Christus Deus et Homo in actione sacrae coenae vere praesens & corpus & sanguinem suum mediante pane et vino nobis distribuens, adorandus sit, id enim non solum haud inviti concedimus, sed etiam urgemus & inculcamus...*⁵⁹ Since bread remains in the sacrament after consecration, Gerhard argued that worship should not be directed to the earthly elements, lest idolatry occur, but only to Christ present in the eucharistic action, distributing His flesh and

blood:

*Pontificii statuunt, ipsum Sacramentum Eucharistiae seu totum illud, quod a Domino, ut sumatur, institutum est, esse cultu latriae adorandum. Nos contra cum Eucharistia, constet duabus rebus, terrena et coelesti, ideo adorationem dicimus non esse dirigendam ad terrena elementa panis et vini, ne praeter Creatorem etiam creaturam colamus, sed ad Christum Deum & hominem, qui in illa actione vere praesens suum corpus & sanguinem nobis distribuit.*⁶⁰

He also defended external acts of reverence, such as kneeling, as directed toward Christ, present in the eucharistic action feeding His people: *Qui vere et ex animo credit, Christum ipsum in actione Eucharistiae vere praesentem suo corpore et sanguine nos pascere, is genuflexione et reverentia externa interiorem fidem ac devotionem suam testabitur.*⁶¹ The fundamental position and rationale for eucharistic adoration which Gerhard developed was essentially the same as that put forward by Forbes less than twenty years later.

When we turn to Archbishop Laud, we find some difficulty in deciphering exactly what he *meant* by his various statements concerning adoration. As we have seen, Laud said in his "Starr-Chamber Speech" that the altar is the "greatest place of God's residence on earth" since Christ's body is there, and that "a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the body than to the word of the Lord".⁶² Here he taught that the body, present on the altar, is to be revered. At the same time, this did not imply the adoration of the elements: "For where Harding names divers ceremonies, and particularly bowing themselves and adoring at the Sacrament, - and I say, 'adoring at the Sacrament', not 'adoring the Sacrament'..."⁶³ This seems to imply that Laud only intended to distinguish the outward signs from the body and blood, which are the proper object of adoration, much as a sixteenth-

century Gnesio-lutheran divine might have done, and as Andrewes did in his 1610 Responsio.

It must be remembered that Laud accepted and signed the 1640 Canons of the Church of England, which stated that idolatry had been committed in the Roman mass, a reference, it would seem, at least in part, to the adoration of the host:

And albeit at the time of the reforming of this church from that gross superstition of popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people both the inclinations thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the idolatry committed in the mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished...⁶⁴

Moreover, canon seven directed that acts of reverence were not to be made upon any presupposition of a corporeal presence of Christ either in the elements or on the table, but *only* in order to advance the majesty of God and to give Him honour and glory:

The reviving therefore of this ancient and laudable custom of bowing on entering and going out of the chancels and churches ... not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion table, the east, or church, or any thing therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the holy eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's majesty, and to give Him alone the honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise...⁶⁵

How Laud was able both to say what he did in his 1636 "Starr-Chamber Speech" and to accept the 1640 Canons is a question. The Canons reduced the entire issue of kneeling and other acts of adoration to the level of an appropriate and reverential attitude toward God. Not unlike the Black Rubric of 1552,⁶⁶ they implied that Christ is not present on the altar. It may be, as we have previously suggested (supra, p. 210), that the use of the specific term "corporal presence"

enabled Laud both to accept the Canons *and* to retain his belief in a presence of some kind on the table which is worthy of more reverence than the "word of the Lord".

During his trial and time in prison toward the end of his life, he found himself being attacked for his supposed support of the adoration of the sacrament. Against the accusation of the Scottish commissioners that he and the Scottish Liturgy of 1637 supported the re-introduction of the "priest's elevation, so magnified in the Mass, and the people's adoration",⁶⁷ Laud emphatically rejected this charge. The Scottish Liturgy demanded neither elevation nor adoration, and "as there is nothing in the book, so nothing hath ever been said or done by me, that tends this way".⁶⁸ The Church of England, he argued, receives the sacrament kneeling, yet without any adoration of the bread and wine, "... for the priest with us makes no elevation, nor therefore the people any adoration, of these elements".⁶⁹ The Scottish Canons of 1636 also condemned the adoration of bread in the eucharist,⁷⁰ and Laud claimed to hold with this: "For most manifest it is that these words, 'As therefore the adoration of the bread is condemned', &c., stand still in the copy revised by me, as is to be seen in the printed copy of those Canons; ...".⁷¹ Significantly, in these statements, Laud only denied that he taught the adoration of *bread and wine*. This was no different from his assertion in the "Starr-Chamber Speech" that the *sacrament* is not to be adored. Whereas in 1636, he also made the positive statement that Christ's body on the altar is the object of reverence, during his last few years, he had abandoned the belief of a presence in the elements (*supra*, p. 211) and, consequently, refrained from defending any adoration of Christ on the table - an opinion which would have condemned him in the eyes of the Puritans, no less than his supposed

defence of bread-worship.

For Cosin, in his early years at least, the question of eucharistic adoration was not a major one. In the first series of notes on the Prayer Book, he insisted on kneeling by both priest and people at the reception of holy communion,⁷² and he stated that "veneration of the holy sacrament" pertains both to the preparation before one comes to the eucharist and reverence during the celebration, without attempting a precise exposition of the relationship between such veneration and the presence of Christ's body and blood.⁷³ He did, however, comment on certain Roman Catholic practices, as recorded by Maldonatus, but without any condemnation other than suggesting that the Church of Rome would be wiser to give holy communion to the people more frequently:

... therefore Maldonat confesses, that in divers places among the very papists, where they have not the Sacrament delivered them, but are there present only to see the priests take it, the people use to lift up their hands (when the Sacrament is lift up by the priest) as earnestly desiring to have it given into their hands, and then they put their hands to their mouth and to their eyes, as applying the virtue of it unto them; which very one thing might admonish the priests and governors of that Church, what an injury they do to the people in keeping that blessed food from them, for which⁷⁴ their very bowels do so yearn with devotion.

That Cosin did not take the opportunity to attack these Roman customs, including the elevation, as superstitious and idolatrous, is quite remarkable for a sixteenth-century Anglican, and suggests that he was not particularly antagonistic toward adoration as practised in the Roman mass. In his own 1627 archdiaconal Articles (unabridged version), however, he only associated kneeling at the reception of holy communion with "due and humble reverence", without making any further connection between the external action and the sacramental presence.⁷⁵

It is in his second series of notes on the Prayer Book (1640s-50s) that Cosin positively worked out the relationship between Christ's presence in the eucharist and the appropriate adoration. He did so in terms of worshipping Christ in the sacramental action. Christ is to be adored, Cosin commented, as He is present, exhibiting his body and blood to those who eat and drink worthily. Only Christ Himself, not the sanctified elements, is to be adored:

Ipsi autem interea dum accipiunt in genua procumbentes Christum Dominum, qui praesens eis digne edentibus et bibentibus adest, suumque Corpus manducandum, et Sanguinem bibendum exhibet, venerantur et adorant; non quidem elementa in Sacramentum sanctificata, quae adoranda non sunt, sed ipsum Dominum et Deum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Significantly, this text was taken by Cosin nearly verbatim from Calixtus' De Sacrificio Christi.⁷⁷ Calixtus had held Philip

Melancthon in high regard and in terms of the adoration question, he perpetuated Melancthon's distinction between Christ present in the eucharistic action and Christ present in the bread.⁷⁸ In this indirect and filtered manner, Melancthonian ideas surfaced in Cosin's teaching.

Cosin expressed the same idea as found in the passage from Calixtus when he wrote:

Yet because that Body and Blood is neither sensibly present (nor otherwise at all present but only to them that are duly prepared to receive them, and in the very act of receiving them and the consecrated elements together, to which they are sacramentally in that act united) the adoration is then and there given to Christ Himself, neither is nor ought to be directed to any external sensible object, such as are the blessed elements.⁷⁹

Kneeling, Cosin argued, is intended only "to testify and express the inward reverence and devotion of our souls towards our blessed Saviour", who sacrificed Himself, and who now in the sacrament gives Himself, all

the benefits of his passion and the spiritual food of His body and blood to the communicant.⁸⁰

In these notes, Cosin also explicitly rejected the elevation and adoration of the host. The rite in which the priest "suddenly lifts up the wafer over his head", after saying *Hoc est corpus Meum*, and afterwards the chalice, so that the "people may all fall down upon their knees and worship them", was a practice which "neither we, nor any of the reformed or Protestant Churches observe, but (in regard to the peril of idolatry) have wholly omitted".⁸¹ The patristic rite of elevation, he claimed, did not include any adoration or worship of the elements "as the very Body and Blood of Christ held up between the priest's fingers, and set down again upon the table, which is more than any priest of them all can do".⁸² The ancient custom was to show the consecrated sacrament to the people as an admonition and invitation to communion, saying, Προσέλθετε. There was no elevation and ostentation for the purpose of adoration, Cosin argued, appealing to the Orthodox Byzantine theologian, Nicholas Cabasilas, as one proof of this.⁸³ (The immediate source of Cosin's argument was again Calixtus' *De Sacrificio Christi*.⁸⁴) This patristic order and custom, Cosin claimed, was "in effect" still observed in the Church of England,⁸⁵ a reference, it would seem, either to the exhortation or to the *sursum corda* of the English eucharistic rite.⁸⁶ The adoration of the bread and cup, however, was a "late device of the Roman Catholics, after they had brought in the novelty of transubstantiation".⁸⁷

The adoration of Christ in the sacrament was in Cosin's thinking, as expressed in these notes, distinct from the adoration of Christ in the elements, a differentiation consistent with his emphasis at this time on a presence of Christ in the action or *usus* of the eucharist, giving His body and blood *quando et cum* the distribution of the

consecrated elements.

In his On the Reverence Due to the Altar, written during a period (some time between 1637 and 1640) of close association with Laud, Taylor, like his patron, was willing to affirm an adoration of Christ present on the altar. (*adorato Christo praesente in altaribus*). He claimed that to incline one's head toward the altar is to incline one's head toward God who is present in the sacred things (*inclinato capite ad altare*, that is, *inclinato capite ad Deum ibidem, atque in sacris residentem*).⁸⁸ A few years later, in his 1647 treatise, Θεολογία Ἐκλεκτική, he expressed a critical, yet rather tolerant attitude toward adoration in the Roman Church, stating that "we all say that Christ is there present some way or other extraordinary", and that it is not inappropriate to worship Him when He gives Himself in such a "mysterious manner". "Divine worship" is given to Christ through the sacramental action; the difference between Protestants and Romans is that the Romans "differ and mistake infinitely in the manner of his presence", an error which is a matter of understanding but which does not "communicate with the will". Everyone grants that Christ in His divinity and humanity is the object of divine worship, and before the Romans permit an act of adoration, they believe the bread to be annihilated or turned into Christ's substance. They are, therefore, as much enemies of idolatry as are Protestants, who, however, understand "better how to avoid that inconvenience which is supposed to be the crime which they [the Romans] formally hate, and we materially avoid".⁸⁹

Taylor's tolerance of the Roman *cultus* and his acceptance of an adoration directed towards Christ present on the altar changed quite dramatically. In his 1654 The Real Presence, he claimed that the

decree of the Council of Trent blinded people so that they gave to the sacrament the same worship which they gave to God. . Either the sacrament is Jesus Christ, or those who worship it are idolaters, Taylor argued.⁹⁰ The "distance between God and bread" is so great, and the "danger of worshipping that which is not God" is so formidable, that if God had intended the sacrament to be worshipped, it would have been called "God" or "Jesus Christ".⁹¹ Roman writers, however, have claimed either that divine worship belongs to the symbols of bread and wine as being "one with Christ" (Bellarmine),⁹² or that the species with Christ are to be adored (Suarez).⁹³ Since Roman theology teaches that the species or accidents are not inherent in the eucharistic body and do not have their existence from it, but subsist by themselves with no substantial or personal union with the flesh of Christ, it is not proper, Taylor claimed, that divine worship should be given to these accidents or species.⁹⁴

Like Andrewes before him, Taylor appealed to the ambiguity and uncertainty implicit in the theory of transubstantiation. There can be defects "secret and insensible" which can hinder the change, with the consequence that bread and wine are adored as God. The priest, for example, might err in the recitation of the words of consecration "by addition, or diminution, or alteration, or longer interruption", such as saying, *Hoc est corpus meum* instead of *corpus meum*, or he might speak false Latin; defects in pronunciation cannot be heard by the congregation because the priest recites the consecration in a secret voice. The celebrant might also intend to consecrate only some of the hosts and not know which ones, or he might intend to mock the sacrament if he is a "secret atheist, a Moor, or a Jew", not intending to do as the Church does, or he might not be a canonically ordained

priest. The bread and wine might be corrupted or might be made of inappropriate ingredients. If any of these defects occur, "Divine adoration" is then given to mere bread and wine.⁹⁵ Garnettus' statement (here Taylor was using Andrewes as his source) that no man is bound to believe that any priest in particular has at any certain time consecrated, but only that bread is transubstantiated somewhere or other at some time or other by some priest or other, shows that giving the sacrament "Divine worship" is very uncertain.⁹⁶

Taylor did not determine whether one who performs this Roman adoration commits "formal idolatry" or not, but he asserted that the distinction between formal idolatry (the intention to worship something less than God) and material idolatry (the act of worshipping something less than God), which might have a place in philosophy, does not have a place in divinity. Ignorance and good intentions are not excuses for committing idolatry.⁹⁷ Likewise, a tentative worship expressed by those who say, "I worship thee if thou be the Son of God, but I do not worship thee if thou beest not consecrated", is not acceptable, since:

... if Penelope, who had not seen Ulysses in twenty years, should see one come to her, nothing like Ulysses, but saying he were her husband, she should give but an ill account of her chastity, if she should actually admit her to her bed, only saying, 'if you be Ulysses, I admit you'. For, if she certainly admits him of whom she is uncertain if he be her husband, she certainly is an adulteress: because she, having reason to⁹⁸ doubt, ought first to be satisfied of her question.

On the positive side, Taylor claimed that had not an inappropriate investigation into the nature of the eucharistic presence occurred, "we [Romans and Protestants] had kneeled before the same altars, and adored the same mystery, and communicated in the same rites, to this day".⁹⁹ Adoration, he acknowledged, may rightly take place *during* the eucharist, but it is not directed to Christ in the elements, but to Christ in

heaven, who is adored appropriately when hearts are lifted up to where He sits at the Father's right hand. As St. Augustine taught, *nemo digne manducat, nisi prius adoraverit*, but to "terminate Divine worship to the sacrament" would be "unreasonable", "unnatural" and "scandalous". The mysteries are received as "representing" and "exhibiting" the body and blood of Christ to the soul, and these are worshipped "in the sumption", but no "Divine honour" is given to the signs: "We do not call the sacrament our God".¹⁰⁰

In a letter to "A Gentleman that Was Tempted to the Communion of the Romish Church", dated 13 March, 1657-58, Taylor answered the question of whether divine worship can rightly be given to Christ as present in the sacrament according to his human nature:

We may not render divine worship to him (as present in the blessed sacrament according to his human nature) without danger of idolatry: because he is not there according to his human nature, and therefore you give divine worship to a '*non ens*', which must needs be idolatry. For '*Idolum nihil est in mundo*', saith St. Paul; and Christ as present by his human nature in the sacrament, is a '*non ens*'; for it is not true, there is no such thing. He is present there by his Divine power, and his Divine blessing, and the fruits of his body, the real effective consequents of his passion: but for any other presence, it is '*idolum*', it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven; for the heavens must contain him till the time of restitution of all things. And if you in the reception of the holy sacrament worship him whom you know to be in heaven; you cannot be concerned in duty to worship him in the host...¹⁰¹

In directing worship toward the heavenly Christ, Taylor re-echoed an idea found in the sixteenth-century English tradition,¹⁰² as well as the continental Reformed heritage. Calvin, for example, rejected adoration of Christ under the elements and directed that worship should be given to Christ in heaven, the communicants' hearts having been lifted up: *Et n'y a point eu raison pourquoy on ait institué en l'Eglise ancienne que le Diacre criast à haute voix et claire au peuple,*

devant la consécration, que chacun eust le coeur en haut.¹⁰³ And, Premièrement si cela se faisoit en la Cène, encore diroyeie que la vraye adoration ne se doit point adresser au signe, mais à Iesus Christ estant au ciel.¹⁰⁴ Pierre du Moulin, similarly, taught an adoration of Christ in heaven within the eucharistic celebration, but not of Christ in the sacramental elements:

Is there any amongst us who hath ever denied, that wee ought not to adore the flesh of Jesus Christ? Yea who hath ever doubted that we ought not to adore him in the Eucharist? Ought not God the Father also to be adored? And what is this to the purpose to inclose Jesus Christ under formes? He that doth Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, doth not foral that adore that which the Priest holdeth in his hand, but he adoreth Jesus Christ which is in heaven.¹⁰⁵

Zacharius Ursinus argued that since Christ is not corporeally present either in the bread or in the place of bread, He is "not to be adored in the Supper". The ascension of Christ means, he claimed, that it is not "lawfull to tie and binde invocation to any certain place or thing, without the expresse command and permission of God, except we will committ open idolatry. For all adoration, bound and restrained to any certain place of thing on earth, is abrogated and cancelled by Christ".¹⁰⁶

Despite this similarity with the Reformed, Taylor still defended the correctness of kneeling to receive holy communion. In Ductor Dubitantium (1660), for example, he argued for kneeling on the basis of implication, i.e., since a law had been made that communicants should kneel, it would be thought by an observer that he who would not kneel did "no reverence to Christ's body and blood".¹⁰⁷ In The Worthy Communicant of the same year, he again defended a certain adoration of Christ, present in the sacrament "after a peculiar manner". If Christ is present "not in mystery only, but in blessing also, why do we not

worship?", Taylor rhetorically asked. All Christians "from time immemorial" have done so, he claimed. Reverence has been practised by all churches, the Christians of India, the Orthodox, the Lutherans, and "only now of late, some have excepted themselves", a reference undoubtedly to the Puritans, or perhaps all the Reformed who sat to receive holy communion. The Church of England, however, follows the "reason and piety of the thing itself, the example of the Primitive Church, and the consenting voice of Christendom".¹⁰⁸ A defence of kneeling on these grounds, particularly given the rest of Taylor's teaching on adoration, certainly skirted the main objection to the practice as put forward by some of its more articulate opponents.¹⁰⁹

In A Dissuasive from Popery, Part I (1664), he included the "circumgestation of the eucharist to be adored" as an example of how Rome had turned away from scriptural doctrine and the practice of the "catholic, apostolic, and primitive Church".¹¹⁰ Condemning the Roman practice of veneration of images as idolatrous, in which λατρεία or divine worship is given to the image as well as to its prototype,¹¹¹ Taylor took a similar position toward "their worshipping the consecrated bread and wine". The argument that they believe "the bread to be their Saviour" can no more excuse them than it can "excuse those who worship the sun and moon and the queen of heaven", which are not worshipped unless men believe some divinity to be present in them. The error of transubstantiation, a theory which defies reason, sight, smell, taste and feeling, which contradicts the plain doctrine of the early Church, and which teaches that the priest changes bread into God, is "too gross to admit an excuse". Moreover, Taylor argued, as he had in The Real Presence, there are just causes for not giving divine honour to the consecrated elements, since even according to Roman theology there are so many contingencies in the sacrament, such as the priest's intention

and other factors which might cause invalidity. Because of uncertainty, it is impossible that anyone "should be sure that 'here' and 'now', and 'this' bread is transubstantiated, and is really the natural body of Christ".¹¹²

In A Dissuasive from Popery, Part II, published three years later, Taylor labelled the practice of the Roman Church as ἀρτολατρεία, "worshipping of consecrated bread". Apart from the possibility of an error by which divine worship might be given to bread and wine, he argued against the Roman adoration on the basis of the ascension. If one were to worship Christ "sitting in heaven" directly, and "not through that blessed thing upon the altar", there would be no disagreement. The apostles at the Last Supper saw Christ's body separate from the bread, and they worshipped only the Father in heaven at that time. Since the ascension, Christ's body is only in heaven, "which must contain it until his coming to judgment", and is so changed and is so immaterial or spiritual that it cannot be broken by hands or teeth. Therefore, Taylor argued, one is as safe in not adoring the elements as were the apostles who refrained from worshipping the bread. If transubstantiation is false, the worshipper who offers divine honour to the host is in the same position as the one who worships the sun because he believes it is God. Taylor concluded, "He that certainly gives Divine honour to that which is not certain to be the body of Christ, runs into a danger too great, to promise to himself he shall be safe".¹¹³

If Taylor's mature understanding of eucharistic adoration was within the Reformed 'true' presence stream of thinking, that of Thorndike developed in a very different way. In his Epilogue (1659), published four years after Taylor's The Real Presence, he stated that

the flesh and blood of Christ "may be adored, wheresoever they are; and must be adored by a good Christian, where the custom of the Church, which a Christian is obliged to communicate with, requires it".¹¹⁴

It is "the duty of every Christian to honour our Lord Christ, as God subsisting in human flesh", and His eucharistic presence is a "just occasion" to express with bodily adoration the inward honour which the Christian always has toward Christ.¹¹⁵ The early Church worshipped Christ "in the sacrament of the eucharist", Thorndike claimed.¹¹⁶

Acknowledging that it is not "necessarily" the same thing to worship Christ *in* the sacrament as to worship the sacrament, Thorndike argued that there is one sense in which the two are the same: since the sacrament by its very nature consists of both visible elements and the "invisible grace of Christ's body and blood", through the union of the two, and since the one accompanies the other, "whatever be the distance of their nature", it is possible to say that worshipping the sacrament means worshipping Christ in the sacrament.¹¹⁷ The insistence of certain Romans, however, that the symbols of bread and wine should be adored, was unacceptable to Thorndike. The distinction between "material" worship and "formal" worship depends on terms which, according to Thorndike, signify nothing. The sign in the sacrament "seems only to determine, why that worship which is always everywhere due, is here now tendered".¹¹⁸ Those who refused to kneel for holy communion, the only act of bodily reverence required by the Church of England, did not seem, according to Thorndike, to acknowledge "the being of a sacrament, requiring the tender of the thing signified by it and with it".¹¹⁹

Like some of the earlier Caroline divines, Thorndike showed a leniency toward the Roman *cultus*. In the Epilogue, he argued that, while Roman Catholics might be wrong in their insistence that the

bread's substance does not remain, this does not make them idolaters. The Romans, as well as those who believe the body and blood are present along with the elements, worship the incarnate Christ.¹²⁰ This tolerant attitude may have been influenced, in part, by Forbes' Considerationes Modestae which was published the year before the Epilogue. In Just Weights and Measures (1662), Thorndike rejected the argument that since the host, which is a creature, is worshipped in the Roman Church, idolatry is committed. The Romans, he argued, when worshipping the host, intend to worship the "Godhead in our manhood" whose body and blood are present in the eucharist in such a manner as they are not present everywhere. Similarly, Christ was worshipped in the early Church which, however, "believed the elements to be present". "Zeal to their opinions", made the Romans "say more than they should say", Thorndike maintained, but they were not idolaters since they did not intend to worship bread.¹²¹

A decade later, in The Reformation of the Church of England (1670-72), he argued that worshipping the elements in the eucharist, like worshipping the cross and images of Christ, is not idolatrous because this worship is actually given to Christ. The "intention of the mind" looks to Christ, who is the object of that worship. The elements, like the cross and image, only determine the "circumstances of time, place and manner, in which the mind is stirred to perform it".¹²² In one passage, however, he claimed that this adoration of the consecrated elements, as well as that of the cross and image, while not idolatry, had caused superstition to increase "without bounds and measure".¹²³ Inasmuch as Rome linked adoration at the consecration with transubstantiation and commanded this worship to be performed, they committed "spiritual idolatry" in setting up a schism by insisting upon something which was not delivered from the beginning.¹²⁴

While Thorndike was not interested in justifying the worship of the eucharistic elements, he was concerned to vindicate those who took the elements as a circumstance for worshipping Christ:

I do not now justify the worship tendered to the elements of the eucharist; no more than I justify transubstantiation, which it is tendered to signify. Only I say, that they, who believe not transubstantiation, taking the presence of the elements for a circumstance occasioning the worship of our Lord Christ the true God, shall not be idolaters in tendering it.¹²⁵

The eucharist, consecrated for communion, "hath as much relation to God, as any ark of the covenant could have", he argued.¹²⁶ The teaching of St. Cyril that reverence is to be done at the receiving and St. Augustine's dictum, *Nemo manducat nisi prius adoraverit*, are to be understood as indicating the reverence "tendered to our Lord Christ, as present in the sacrament; and that presence a just occasion of tendering the reverence".¹²⁷ Even though he rejected processions with the sacrament in which the elements are not intended for reception, Thorndike went so far as to maintain that should the sacrament pass the streets "in order to communion, it may be then so well understood, that it may be than but due reverence to that great office".¹²⁸

Thorndike's position regarding eucharistic worship is similar to ideas which already had been publicly expressed by earlier Caroline divines, such as Andrewes and Laud. (Saravia's and Taylor's treatises containing similar ideas had not been published in the seventeenth century.) Undoubtedly, he was familiar with this strand of Anglican thinking and quite likely influenced by it. His understanding also had much in common with that of those sixteenth-century Lutherans who had followed Luther's lead. Here we must remind ourselves once again that Thorndike was familiar with the Lutheran eucharistic tradition, utilizing the *Liber Concordiae* and most probably Chemnitz' *Fundamenta*

Sanae Doctrinae in his Epilogue, and showing evidence of knowing other Lutheran writers (supra, p. 217). Like Thorndike's comparison of the eucharist to the ark of the covenant, Chemnitz, in the previous century, had likened the adoration of Christ in the eucharist to the Old Testament worship given to God in those places where He was present under external and visible signs:

*Ita Iacob Genesis 28. Moses Exod. 34. Elias 3. Reg. 19. non habebant sane peculiare mandatum, ut in illis locis Deum adorarent: sed quia habebant generale mandatum, ut Deum ubique adorarent: & certi erant Deum sub externis & visibilibus illis symbolis, vere adesse, & peculiari modo gratiae se ibi patefacere: certe Deum ipsum, quem ibi praesentem esse credabant, adorabant: nec vera fuisset fides, si non secuta fuisset invocatio seu adoratio, hoc est, honor Deo debetur.*¹²⁹

Joachim Westphal of Hamburg (1510-1574) had been willing (as Thorndike later was) to tolerate the phrase, *adorationem Sacramenti vel Eucharistiae*, so long as this was understood as referring to the adoration of Christ present in the sacrament:

*Cum Christus verus Deus et homo, tempore dispensationis suae adoratus sit, & ipse non prohibuerit se adorari, cur superstitione iudicatur adorare postquam exaltatus est ad dexteram, in medio populi sui secundum verbum suum praesentem? Quando Sacramentum seu Eucharistia, denominatur a praestantiore parte, nempe a re coelesti, sentio pie dici adorationem Sacramenti vel Eucharistiae, pro adorationem Christi praesentis in Eucharistia.*¹³⁰

Certainly, Thorndike's statement that if the sacrament should pass by on its way "in order to communion", "due reverence" would be in order, suggests an adoration of Christ, neither in heaven only nor in the eucharistic action only, but in, with and under (to use language employed by Thorndike) the sacramental bread and wine, a position not far from that of the Gnesio-lutherans.

The question of eucharistic adoration is, of course, intimately connected with other aspects of eucharistic doctrine. Within the English context, Puritans were concerned that the custom of kneeling to receive holy communion was derived from and reflected a sacramental doctrine at odds with that of the Reformed Churches. The Caroline divines were just as concerned to *defend* kneeling and a legitimate adoration of Christ in the eucharist. It was only Taylor, however, who did so in the typically Reformed manner of directing the communicant's worship toward the *heavenly* Christ, an idea also found within sixteenth-century Anglicanism (*supra*, pp. 33, 41). Forbes and the later Cosin, like the theological descendants of Melancthon, taught that one can legitimately offer adoration to Christ as *present* in the eucharistic *action* distributing His body and blood. Saravia, Andrewes, Laud, Thorndike and, at one stage, Taylor, used language suggesting the worship of Christ present on the altar. It seems quite likely that Saravia and Thorndike were to a certain extent directly influenced by Lutheran theology in this regard. In contrast to the frequently harsh denunciations of the Roman adoration of the sacrament by Reformed and sixteenth-century English divines,¹³¹ several of the Caroline theologians - Saravia, Forbes, Thorndike, and Taylor in one treatise - went so far as to defend the Roman Catholics (and/or Lutherans) against the charge of idolatry. The early Cosin was tolerantly indifferent to the Roman practice. Andrewes, Laud, the later Cosin, and Taylor, in continuity with the earlier Anglican tradition, opposed the elevation and adoration of the host, however.

While connections with Reformed ideas inherited from sixteenth-century Anglicanism were by no means dead, the Caroline theologians as

a group tended to deal with the adoration question in a way more akin to that of the Lutherans, either Gnesio- or Melancthonian, than that of the Calvinists. While it is very difficult to determine motivation or cause and effect, it may be that the custom of kneeling to receive holy communion, particularly as it came under increasing and sophisticated attacks, became the stimulus for the development of new defences for the practice and, consequently, for the understanding of eucharistic presence. When it was perceived that the old arguments for kneeling on the basis of decency, order and a reverential attitude toward God for what He has done in Christ, simply were not sufficient, seventeenth-century Anglicans developed new understandings of eucharistic adoration similar to, and in a few cases dependent upon, the teaching of Lutheranism. (The Lutheran Church, after all, had also retained kneeling at the reception of holy communion.) This would suggest, then, that Caroline thinking on the adoration issue was a further development in the history of Anglican theology, having come about, at least in part, in order to defend inherited Anglican practice.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Two Liturgies, p. 89.

²Ibid., p. 89.

³Puritan Manifestoes, ed., W. H. Frere & C. E. Douglas (London: SPCK, 1907), p. 13.

⁴Several Treatises of Worship & Ceremonies (Cambridge & Oxford: 1660), pp. 104-109.

⁵See also, A Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer (1606), p. 73.

⁶Kneeling had been enjoined from 1549 onwards in the Book of Common Prayer. See, The Two Liturgies, pp. 90, 279; Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer Set Forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, pp. 194-95.

⁷*Haec dicta sunt illis, quibus, contra Ecclesiae in qua degunt receptum morem, grave et geniculando Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Domini accipere. Contra ecclesias quibus sessio placet, nihil magnopere disputo, quamdiu fides et pietas adfertur quam tanti Mysterii Majestas postulat. De Sacra Eucharistia, p. 200.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 198. See also, p. 200.

¹²*Adrianus Saravia*, p. 199. For a similar statement, see, W. Nijenhuis, "Adrianus Saravia as an Eirenical Churchman", *Reform and Reformation*, p. 162.

¹³*De Sacra Eucharistia*, pp. 198-200.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 200.

¹⁵*The Doctrine of the Eucharist*, 2: 221.

¹⁶*De Sacra Eucharistia*, p. 196.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸*WA*, 19: 99 (*Deutsche Messe*, 1526); *WA*, 12: 212-13 (*Formula Missae et Communionis*, 1528).

¹⁹*WA*, 18: 191 (*Wider die himlischen Propheten*). See also, Peters, *On the Origin and Meaning*, p. 144.

²⁰*WA TR*, 5: 308 (1544); *On the Origin and Meaning*, pp. 146-47.

²¹*WA*, 54: 432 (*Wider der XXXII Artikel der Theologen zu Löwen*). For discussions of Luther's attitude toward adoration, see, Hardt, *On Altarets Sakrament*, pp. 68-81, and *Venerabilis & Adorabilis Eucharistia*, pp. 214, 41, Sasse, *This is My Body*, pp. 84, 139.

²²In addition to Luther's two masses, it was kept, e.g., in the 1524 Strasbourg rite, the 1540 Brandenburg Church Order, and the 1543 Pfalz-Neuburg Church Order. See, "The Anglican Eucharist: From the Reformation to the Restoration" in Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold, *The Study of Liturgy*, p. 270, especially, ft.nt. 8.

²³*Venerabilis & Adorabilis Eucharistia*, pp. 248-49. Brilioth pointed out that the sacring bell at the consecration was used within some Lutheran quarters into the eighteenth century. *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, p. 127.

²⁴*Venerabilis & Adorabilis Eucharistia*, pp. 251-52. For a discussion of the adoration battle within Lutheranism, *ibid.*, pp. 248-69.

²⁵See above, p.

²⁶The Roman Catholic here referred to seems to have been Henry Garnet (1555-1606), a Jesuit priest who was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot and executed on 27 May 1606. It is possible, however, that the reference is to his nephew, Thomas Garnet (1575-1608), another Jesuit, who also was executed. See, NCE, 6: 291-93, and, Joseph Gillow, ed., A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, 5 vols. (London & New York: Burns & Oates, 1885), 2: 390-97.

²⁷*Garnettus quidem, cum tale quid ab eo quaereretur, 'modicae fidei' fuisse, ac perplexe satis respondisse dicitur. Merito dubitari de eo posse. Nec vel se, vel alium quenquam teneri, ut temere credat, aut salutem suam credendo in discrimen adducat, quod vel Ipse scilicet, vel alius quis in individuo Sacerdos, vel hoc, vel certo alio Consecrationis suae tempore, panem transubstantiando Christi corpus conficiat. Statui forsitan posse in genere, atque indefinite, quod 'Transubstantiatio' sit, et quod ab 'aliquo, alicubi', Sacerdote, tale quid, 'aliquando' fieri possit. 'Ab aliquo, alicubi, aliquando'? Quam nihil certi? Illi ergo, ut videtur, non modo particula, 'Hoc', sed 'Transubstantiatio' tota, 'individuum' modo 'vagum': deque ea, vagam modo fidem habebat. Works, RACB: 9. Andrewes indicated that Garnettus' statement was from a colloquy in which the Roman theologian had participated together with Anglican divines: *In colloq, cum Decan. Sacell. Reg., Paulin., et Westmonast. Ibid., ft.nt. i.**

²⁸Works, RACB: 10.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 11.

³¹Supra, p. , ft.nt.

³²Supra, p.

³³In his Controversy with Harding, Jewel wrote, "... yet how can they [the people] be assured of his secret words, of his intention, of his mind, of his will? Or if they cannot, how can they safely adore the sacrament without doubt and danger of idolatry?". Works, 1: 550-51.

³⁴1610 Articles, p. A, 3[R]; Works, MW: 131, 135.

³⁵Du Perron, *Une Eglise qui en ceste qualité adoroit l'Eucharistie, non seulement avec pensées & devotions internes, mais avec gestes & adorations externes, comme contenant actuellement, reellement & substantiellement le vray & propre corps de Christ. Replique à la Response*, p. 71.

³⁶Works, MW: 15-16 (*Stricturae*). St. Cyril wrote: Ἐἵτα μετὰ το κοινωνῆσαι σε τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ ἀμὴν ἀγιάζου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνων Χριστοῦ. F. L. Cross, ed., St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Lectures on the Christian Sacraments (London: SPCK, 1951), p. 38.

- ³⁷Works, MW: 16.
- ³⁸Bellarmino, Opera, 4: 291-92.
- ³⁹Works, RACB: 266.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 267.
- ⁴¹Ibid.
- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Fundamenta, p. 60; The Lord's Supper, pp. 159-60.
- ⁴⁴Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 1016.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 1007.
- ⁴⁶1628 Articles, pp. A, 3 [R-V]; 1631 Articles, pp. A, 3 [R-V]; 1637 Articles, p. A, 3 [R].
- ⁴⁷1638 Articles, p. B, 4 R. On the continent among the Reformed churches, it was the practice to receive holy communion either sitting or kneeling. Barkley, The Worship of the Reformed Church, p. 53.
- ⁴⁸*Hi fere omnes male de praesentia Christi Domini in Sacramento, miro, sed vero modo praesentis sentiunt.* Considerationes, 2: 544.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 548.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 544.
- ⁵¹Ibid., p. 548.
- ⁵²See, e.g., Institution, 4:17: 35, 36; Petit Traicté in CR, 33: 452; Bradshaw, Several Treatises, pp. 108-109; Morton's, Of the Institution of the Sacrament of the Blessed Bodie and Blood of Christ (London: W. Stansby for Robert Mylbourne, 1631), p. 148; David Calderwood, Perth Assembly ([Holland]: 1619), pp. 46, 49.
- ⁵³... *et Christum quidem adorandum esse, non tamen Sacramentum, quia species illae sunt res creatae et inanimae, et consequenter incapaces adorationis; neque enim satis est ut Christus sub illis sit, quia etiam Deus et non anima.* Considerationes, 2: 548. See also, Suarez, Commentiorum ac Disputationum, p. 779 (Quaest. 79, Art. 8, Disput. 65, Sect. 1).
- ⁵⁴Considerationes, 2: 552, 554.
- ⁵⁵*Reliqui etiam Graeci omnes adorant Christum in Eucharistia; et quis ausit, omnes hos Christianos idololatriae arcessere et damnare?* Ibid., p. 554.
- ⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 556, 558.
- ⁵⁷Ibid.; see also, De Republica Ecclesiastica, 3: 200.

⁵⁸Considerationes, 2: 550.

⁵⁹Loci Theologici, 5: 201.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Works, 6: 57. Dugmore, then, was not accurate when he wrote, "Laud, who was not a profound theologian, never stated clearly what it was that he adored in the Eucharist". Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 50.

⁶³Ibid., 6: 58. Laud, of course, insisted that communicants receive the sacrament kneeling. See, e.g., his 1628 Visitation Articles in the Diocese of London, and his 1635 Metropolitan Visitation Articles in the Diocese of Winchester. Ibid., 5 (Part 2): 399, 424.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 625 (Canon 7).

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 626.

⁶⁶The Black Rubric, as we have already seen, interpreted kneeling at communion as "a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ, given unto the worthy receiver". The Two Liturgies, p. 283.

⁶⁷Works, 3: 347 (History of the Troubles and Tryal); see also, Prynne's On Canterburie's Doome, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁸Works, 3: 348.

⁶⁹Ibid.; see also, 3: 326.

⁷⁰"Superstition and profaneness are both of them extremities to be avoided; as therefore the adoration of the bread is condemned, so the unreverent communicating, and not discerning of those holy mysteries, must be eschewed. Therefore it is ordained, that the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper be received with the bowing of the knee, to testify the devotion and thankfulness of the receivers for that most excellent gift." Ibid., 5 (Part 2): 594.

⁷¹Ibid., 3: 326.

⁷²Works, 5: 112.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 100-101.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 112.

⁷⁵Question 5 of Chapter 7, for example, asks, "Doth he [the priest] first receive the same himselfe devoutly and upon his knees?" and, "... doth he deliver the same unto none but such only as with due and humble reverence are kneeling upon their knees?". Correspondence, 1: 117.

⁷⁶Works, 5: 345.

⁷⁷De Sacrificio Christi, par. lxxxv.

⁷⁸In a 1538 letter, for example, Melancthon stated that Christ is not enclosed in the bread, and His body is not soldered to it. Hence, worship, if it is offered at all, should not be directed to the bread. CR, 3: 514; see also, CR, 7: 877 (a 1551 letter to Val. Vigelio); CR, 9: 470-71 for Melancthon's chiding of those Lutherans who retained the elevation; Peters, On the Origin and Meaning, pp. 29, 57, 67; Hardt, Venerabilis et Adorabilis Eucharistia, p. 245.

⁷⁹Works, 5: 345.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 345-46. For a similar statement, see Cosin's 1662 Visitation Articles, in which he directed communicants to kneel at holy communion "all decently behaving themselves, and humbly kneeling upon their knees in honour of our blessed Saviour, whose precious Death and Passion is then set forth and remembered by the Church". Ibid., 4: 515.

⁸¹Ibid., 5: 340.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 340-41. See also, Cabasilas' Liturgiae Expositio (ch. 36 & 39) in which he interpreted the showing of the consecrated gifts to the people as a form of invitation or summoning to holy communion with the words, "Holy things to the holy ones". The priest, he taught, exhibits the gifts and urges the people to approach in faith and in the fear of the Lord, showing neither contempt for the humble forms of the sacrament, nor doubting because the object of faith is above reason; he calls upon them to recognize the dignity of the sacrament, which is a source of eternal life. PG, 150: 418; Commentary on the Divine Liturgy, pp. 88-89, 92. John Meyendorff has pointed out that the "rejection of the concept of the Eucharist as 'image' or 'symbol' is, on the other hand, very significant for the understanding of the entire Eucharistic 'perception' of the Byzantines; the Eucharist for them always remained fundamentally a mystery to be received as food and drink, and not to be 'seen' through physical eyes. The elements remain covered, except during the prayers of consecration and during communion; and in contrast with Western medieval piety, were never 'venerated' outside the framework of the Eucharistic liturgy itself." Byzantine Theology (London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1974), p. 204.

⁸⁴De Sacrificio Christi, par. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

⁸⁵Works, 5: 342.

⁸⁶Liturgiae Britannicae, pp. 198, 204.

⁸⁷Works, 5: 342.

⁸⁸On the Reverence Due to the Altar, p. 44.

⁸⁹Works, 8: 224-25.

⁹⁰Ibid., 10: 100. The Council of Trent had declared: *Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in catholica ecclesia semper recepto latriae cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant...* (c. 5) *Si quis dixerit, in sancto eucharistiae sacramento Christum unigenitum Dei Filium non esse cultu latriae, etiam externo, adorandum, atque ideo nec festiva peculiari celebritate venerandum, neque in processionibus secundum laudabilem et universalem ecclesiae sanctae ritum et consuetudinem solemniter circumgestandum, vel non publice, ut adoretur populo proponendum, et eius adoratores esse idolatras: anathema sit.* (canon 6), Canones et Decreta, pp. 61, 64.

⁹¹Works, 10: 101.

⁹²... *cultu autem latriae dicimus per se, et proprie Christum esse adorandum, et eam adorationem ad symbola etiam panis, et vini pertinere, quantenus apprehenduntur ut quid unum cum ipso Christo, quem continent.* Opera, 4: 292 (De Sacra Eucharistia, lib. 4, c. 29).

⁹³*Dico secundo: Non solum Christus sub speciebus existens, sed etiam totum sacramentum visibile, ut ex Christo & speciebus constat unico latriae actu adorandum est.* Francisco Suarez, Commentiorum ac Disputationum in Tertiam Partem Divi Thomae Tomus Tertius (Lippii: Sumptibus Hermanni Mylii, 1619), p. 780 (Quaest. 79, Art. 8, Disput. 65, Sect. 1).

⁹⁴Works, 10: 101-102.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 102-103.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 104.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 104-105. Gabriel Biel, for example, said that, given the possibility of some hindering defect which would impede the power of the priest to consecrate, and given the inability to know infallibly that Christ was under the hosts, adoration ought to be done with the condition that it was performed only if everything necessary for the consecration had been done. See, Canonis Misse Expositio, ed., Heiko A. Oberman & William J. Courtenay, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMPH, 1963-1967), 2: 286.

⁹⁸Works, 10: 105-106.

⁹⁹Ibid., 9: 424.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 10: 106.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 11: 212-13 (Letter 3).

¹⁰²Supra, pp.

¹⁰³Institution, 4:17:36.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 4:17:37.

¹⁰⁵A Defence of the Catholicke Faith, p. 272.

¹⁰⁶The Summe of Christian Religion, p. 445.

¹⁰⁷Works, 13: 243.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 15: 672.

¹⁰⁹In David Calderwood's 1636 A Re-Examination of the Five Articles Enacted at Perth anno 1618, he argued against kneeling in a way which may be summarized as follows: 1) It is contrary to the practice of other Reformed churches; 2) if it is done to honour the spiritual reception of Christ's body and blood, there is no more reason for kneeling at holy communion than there is at the "hearing of the promises of the Gospel read and expounded"; at the sacrament one does not receive Christ's flesh with the mouth, but by faith "which may be done without ever participating the sacrament"; 3) kneeling to receive the sacrament is more consonant with the doctrines of transubstantiation and consubstantiation than with the Reformed doctrine of the eucharist; 4) in the Old Testament, God directed people to kneel "toward a certain place, where He was present himself in an extraordinarie manner", but there is "no such place appointed under the Gospel, far lesse any creature before which hee hath directed us to kneel", i.e., bread and wine; adoration should be directed toward Christ in heaven; 5) Neither God nor the body of Christ is in the sacramental elements, but only in the believer; 6) to kneel "in respect of the holinesse of bread and wine, is idolatrie". (pp. 67, 87, 89-103, 115-16, 121-22, 129-30.)

¹¹⁰Ibid., 10: 184.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 241-42. Among others, Taylor referred to Aquinas as having taught the worship of images. For St. Thomas' defence of giving *adoratio*/λατρεία to the image of Christ and His cross, see, ST, 3a.25, 3 & 4.

¹¹²Works, 10: 244-45. In A Dissuasive from Popery, Part II, Taylor similarly argued, "... they cannot tell, whether any wafer be actually transubstantiated, because they never can know by Divine faith, whether the supposed priest be a real priest, or had right intention; and yet they certainly do worship it in the midst of all uncertainties. Ibid., p. 382.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 522-23.

¹¹⁴Works, 4 (Part 2): 753.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 754. Thorndike argued that the body of Christ is not adored "as It is of Itself and Itself a mere creature" or because of any "endowment residing in it" which it might receive from its union with the Godhead, yet one honours it because "It is inseparably united to the Godhead, in which and by which It subsisteth". The body of Christ is honoured, but the divinity of Christ is the reason. Ibid.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 755.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 757.

¹¹⁸Ibid. For Bellarmine's discussion of "material" worship and "formal" worship, see, Opera, 4: 292 (De Sacra Eucharistia, lib. 4,

cap. 29).

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 758.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 759.

¹²¹Ibid., 5: 209-10; see also, 5: 78-79.

¹²²Ibid., p. 518.

¹²³Ibid., p. 587. Thorndike pointed to the danger implicit in saying that the same worship could be paid to the image as was due to the principal. Aquinas, for example, taught this when he said that divine worship could be given to the image of Christ, not by reason of the image itself, but because of the person represented by it. ST, 3a.25.3. The true cross, he argued, receives the same divine worship as did Christ Himself (*Unde utroque modo adoratur eadem adoratione cum Christo, scilicet adoratione latriae*) because it was a symbol of Christ's body crucified and because it came into direct contact with the body and was bathed in Christ's blood. ST, 3a.25.4.

¹²⁴Works, 5: 586.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 519.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 586.

¹²⁷Ibid.; for the passage of St. Cyril referred to, supra, p. 457, ft.nt. 36. For St. Augustine's dictum, see, PL, 36/37: 1264.

¹²⁸Ibid., 5: 586 (The Reformation of the Church of England).

¹²⁹Examinis, 2: 83; Examination, 2: 277-78.

¹³⁰Quoted from Peters, On the Origin and Meaning, p. 387. The original text of Westphal's 1558 Apologia Confessionis de Coena Domini was not available to the student. Luther himself had been willing to speak of worshipping the venerable sacrament of the altar. Supra, pp. 427-28.

¹³¹The Black Rubric, e.g., stated that the sacramental bread was not to be adored "for that were Idolatry to be abhorred by all faithful Christians". The Two Liturgies, p. 283. Cranmer accused the Roman Church of idolatry by exchanging the worship of Christ for the worship of a piece of bread. Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 224-29. Calvin in his Institution taught that those who prostrate themselves before the eucharistic bread in order to worship Christ there engage in superstition. Institution, 4:17:36. In his Petit Traicté, he labelled adoration before the bread as nothing but idolatry. CR, 33: 452.

CONCLUSION

It has been claimed that the sacramental teaching of seventeenth-century Anglicanism was the "Chalcedon of eucharistic theology", avoiding the perils of both transubstantiation (or sacramental docetism) and receptionism (or sacramental epiphenomenalism).¹ A statement such as this is true inasmuch as it points to the Caroline insistence 1) that there is an incomprehensible and unutterable depth to the presence of Christ in the eucharist, 2) that it is not necessary for God to destroy or eliminate the earthly nature of bread and wine to enable the heavenly gifts to be communicated, 3) that the sacrament consists of more than the external signs or symbols subject to the senses. This is another way of saying that these divines believed that in some sense there is a reception of Christ's body which is the direct result of the eucharistic celebration and communion. What they struggled to express was what this meant and what the implications of such a belief were. The issue of *whether* or not Christ is present and communicated in the sacrament was long dead. Consequently, it attracted their attention only in passing and as one of the foils over against which they developed their teaching. Their appeal to the mysterious character of the eucharist should blind one neither to the fact that such an appeal had been made by theologians of nearly all stripes, nor to their own, often prolific, attempts to explicate the eucharistic mystery. One can even say that the "cataphatic" character of their writings far outweighs their occasional "apophatic" statements.²

The Caroline churchmen expressed their understanding of Christ's presence in the sacrament with categories and concepts common in the

larger European theological setting, and they treated, in their own expositions, points of conflict and disagreement which had divided Reformed, Lutherans, Romans and Orthodox in the sixteenth century, and which continued to divide them in the seventeenth century. While individual divines did not always discuss every sacramental issue involved in the various disputes, each developed his thinking in other areas so as to indicate the general direction of his eucharistic doctrine (although this did not always remain constant). The very fact that these men dealt with the relationship between the elements and Christ's flesh and blood, with sacramental change, eucharistic communion, the nature of Christ's sacramental body, consecration and adoration, indicates that they were willing not only to affirm the *res* of eucharistic presence, but that they were also prepared to discuss issues which dealt with the *how* of that presence. Certainly, this is not to suggest that they were all equally successful, articulate or consistent in their attempts. It is to suggest, however, that they were not content simply to say *Hoc est corpus meum*; they also attempted to exposit the meaning of these words.

Having examined throughout this thesis the various aspects of the theology of eucharistic presence, we are now in a position to answer the question of whether the Caroline divines perpetuated the teaching of sixteenth-century Anglicanism, or whether their thinking represents a significant development within the tradition. First of all, let us be clear about the doctrine which the Caroline theologians inherited. After flirting with both "Zwinglian" and Lutheran ideas, as well as a relapse into the Roman faith, the English Church settled its eucharistic teaching within the boundaries of the Reformed 'true'

presence doctrine. By 1604, just before the writing of the first major treatise dealt with in this study, the Church of England was, both officially and in the writings of her major theologians, committed to this Reformed understanding of the sacrament. In two ways, however, she diverged from the thinking and practice of other Reformed churches: she required kneeling at the reception of holy communion and she treated the recitation of the words of institution as the necessary form for the consecration of bread and wine and as something more than words spoken to communicants. In these two ways, she resembled her Roman Catholic and Lutheran neighbours more than other Reformed churches. There were in this situation factors which could allow Anglican thinking, like a double-swinging hinge, to move in different directions. While some theologians of the seventeenth century (i.e., the Puritans) wanted to resolve this tension in favour of a more thorough-going Reformed position, the Caroline divines tended to move in other directions.

This is not to imply that they completely abandoned the sixteenth-century Reformed tradition which they inherited. To suggest this would be to ignore what was still a very powerful influence in their eucharistic theology. The Reformed teaching on the reception of Christ's body by faith into the communicant's soul was upheld in various ways by Andrewes, Montague, Laud, Cosin and Taylor. Closely linked with this was the explicit or implicit denial of *manducatio indignorum* and *manducatio oralis*, found at times in the writings of all the Caroline divines except Saravia. Although they frequently used adjectives such as "true", "real" and "substantial", all of these seventeenth-century theologians distinguished, in one way or another, that which is given in the eucharist from the literal, physical flesh

of the glorified Christ. This re-echoed an Anglican emphasis from the previous century. At times, Laud, Cosin, Taylor and Thorndike related the eucharistic presence to the doctrines of Christology, ascension and session at the Father's right hand in order to demonstrate either that Christ's literal, natural body has departed from the earth or to argue against a simultaneous presence of that physical body in two places at the same time. With regard to the relationship between the earthly signs and the sacramental presence of Christ, the teaching of a change of the elements in terms of *use* is found in the theology of Montague, Cosin, Laud and Taylor, while an explicit denial of a presence in the elements was made at times by Forbes, Cosin and Taylor;

Moreover, the teaching of both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century continental Reformed theologians was utilized by the Caroline divines. Saravia appealed to Calvin and Musculus in his argument that the eucharistic body is the crucified, rather than the glorified, body of Christ. Montague cited Calvin, Beza and others in the defence of his own doctrine against Puritan attacks. Laud employed, defended, and, one might say, re-worked Calvin's theology as part of his polemic against Roman Catholic opponents. Forbes cited Bucer, Calvin, and Beza as having taught the mysterious character of the eucharist. Cosin, later in life, expressed his approval in glowing terms of Calvin's eucharistic doctrine. Taylor recommended writings of du Moulin, Episcopius and Vossius for a library being started by a friend. To suggest, therefore, either that Reformed eucharistic ideas were dead in seventeenth-century Anglicanism or that continental Reformed theologians were simply dismissed, would plainly be to ignore the facts.

This is not to claim, however, that the Caroline divines merely repristinated sixteenth-century Reformed eucharistic doctrine. To

hold such a position would be the result either of ignoring ideas in their teaching which do not accord with Reformed material, or of attempting to force their theology into a preconceived mould.

Abundant evidence exists to suggest that there were tendencies toward other sacramental traditions, one of which was Lutheranism. Despite the predictable rejection of "consubstantiation" along with transubstantiation, various Lutheran eucharistic ideas surfaced in the writings of the Caroline theologians. Saravia developed his teaching of Christ's presence in the sacrament quite consistently in a Lutheranizing direction, with only occasional ideas derived from Reformed theology. A presence in the elements, prior to reception, received orally and even by the *indigni*, and rightly to be adored with both body and soul, are features of his doctrine. He was familiar with the Lutheran eucharistic tradition, and even made explicit appeals to Luther, the Augustana and the Wittenberg Concord. Given the explicitly Lutheran character of De Sacra Eucharistia, it is not surprising that the treatise was not published during Saravia's lifetime. It far exceeded the boundaries of both popular and official Anglican eucharistic theology at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Forbes appealed to both Luther and Chemnitz in his argument for a tolerant attitude toward the theory of transubstantiation. Cosin, early in his career, registered his agreement with those Lutherans in the sixteenth century who had taught a consecration effecting a presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament and enduring in time. Later in life, his understanding changed, and he inclined toward the other strand of Lutheran teaching, which emphasized a presence and adoration of Christ in the use of the sacrament; his source in this regard was Calixtus, the ecumenical Lutheran theologian of Helmstadt. Thorndike was

another divine whose thinking was influenced by Lutheran ideas. He was acquainted with the Liber Concordiae, Chemnitz' Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae, and he possibly knew other Lutheran writings. This is reflected in his use of "in, with, and under" language to describe the sacramental presence, his affirmation of a presence which endures in time, his acceptance, after earlier doubts, of *manducatio corporalis* and *manducatio indignorum*, and his defence of adoring Christ present in the sacrament.

The Caroline theologians also espoused certain ideas *similar* to those found in the 'real' presence traditions of Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism, but without any direct indebtedness to Roman or Lutheran sources of which we can be certain. Andrewes, Laud and Taylor, for example, referred at times to a presence of Christ either on the altar or in the elements, and, consequently, used language suggesting that adoration should be directed toward Christ as present there. Both Andrewes and Forbes taught some kind of *manducatio corporalis*. Forbes approved of the Melancthonian emphasis on a presence and adoration of Christ in the *usus*, while still countenancing a presence which endures in time. The immediate source of this understanding was Archbishop de Dominis, but it also had much in common with the theology of the great seventeenth-century formulator of Lutheran doctrine, Johann Gerhard. With regard to the sanctifying of the elements, it was either suggested or explicitly taught by Saravia, Andrewes, Cosin, Montague and Laud that consecration is directed toward the elements, not just the congregation, and this occurs through the recitation of the words of Christ. One also finds the use of "substantialist" language by Andrewes, Cosin, Montague, Forbes, Laud and Taylor. While this was undoubtedly influenced by Calvin's thought, the willingness on the part of some of the divines to conceive of a "substantial" presence on earth

may also have been influenced by Platonic tendencies of the century, resulting in a position not so far removed from that of the Roman Catholic 'realist' school of eucharistic doctrine.

In Cosin's first series of notes on the Prayer Book, one finds a direct and positive utilization of Roman Catholic sources. He used Cassander to support a notion of the presence of Christ prior to reception, and he cited approvingly Maldonatus' Thomistic understanding of the nature of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In addition, Saravia, Forbes, Taylor and Thorndike defended at times the Roman Church against the accusation of idolatry and bread-worship.

One also finds the surfacing of Eastern Orthodox beliefs and practices in the writings of several of the Anglican theologians. Taylor, for example, was willing to countenance the possibility of infant communion. He, together with Forbes and Thorndike, appealed to the ancient Orthodox liturgical tradition and emphasized eucharistic prayer and epiclesis of the Holy Spirit as the manner of consecrating the bread and wine, without excluding the words of institution as part of the consecratory prayer.

The Caroline teaching on sacramental presence witnesses to a creativity and independence of thought. While these men at times borrowed ideas from each other, by and large their expressions of eucharistic theology reflect the variety of sources which they used and which they individually integrated into their expositions of Christ's presence in the sacrament. A great deal of twentieth-century scholarship dealing with Anglican theology of the seventeenth century has emphasized the role of antiquity in the teaching of the Caroline divines. One writer, Paula Schaefer, has argued that "Anglicans called the Catholic Fathers to witness and wished to retain the

Catholic hierarchy and the liturgy, whereas Puritans endeavoured to introduce the reformed religion of Geneva".³ As we observed in the Introduction of this study, F. L. Cross asserted that the seventeenth-century divines "claimed to have built up their systems from Patristic sources, believing that the Fathers were the best interpreters and expounders of the revelation made once for all in Holy Writ".⁴ H. R. McAdoo, in his work on Anglican theological method in the seventeenth century, has claimed that "while the appeal to antiquity was not the creation of the seventeenth century, it was during that period that it evolved as a positive element and as an integral part of the Anglican approach to theological questions".⁵ Without rejecting these interpretations, it is hoped that this study has demonstrated that they *cannot* be understood as implying that the Caroline divines ignored or were uninfluenced by the more immediate theological background. The sixteenth-century controversies and the eucharistic traditions which /and which continued into the seventeenth century, they produced, still loomed large in their thinking. No longer, however, was it limited to the *Reformed* heritage. No longer were Lutheran and Roman Catholic ideas and emphases out of bounds.

This is not to suggest that every kind of belief was openly and unambiguously espoused. Frequently, the more radical the idea in terms of its departure from the Reformed 'true' presence tradition, the less public was its exposure or the more subtle was its phrasing. Nonetheless, the diverse ways in which they developed their understandings of the eucharistic presence suggest that these theologians envisioned a wider spectrum of legitimate theological opinion and reflection on the central affirmation that Christ's body and blood are communicated than did many of their sixteenth-century predecessors or some of their contemporaries. This was in accord with the tenor of much of Anglican theology in the seventeenth century,

which refused to identify the Faith of the Church with any one school of thought or theological system. McAdoo has convincingly argued that the theological method of this period included the distinction between fundamentals and non-fundamentals, and that there was "no specifically Anglican corpus of doctrine and no king pin in Anglican theology such as Calvin".⁶ This certainly is true in terms of the eucharistic theology of the eight divines considered. The wider movement away from the Calvinism of the previous century, which has frequently been pointed out in various studies,⁷ is reflected in the development of tendencies in their eucharistic theology toward Lutheran, Roman and Orthodox ideas and emphases.

One must keep in mind that the doctrine of Christ's presence in the sacrament was not one of the major issues of the seventeenth century. Other questions, such as episcopacy, predestination and the legitimacy of set liturgical prayers, dominated the theological scene far more than that of the eucharist. This may explain, in part, why the diversity and tendencies in Caroline sacramental thought did not raise more conflict than they did. The related issues of kneeling for the reception of holy communion and the position of the altar did come into prominence, and may well have provided an impetus to some of the directions in which Caroline eucharistic theology developed.

One should also remember that these eight theologians who have been considered were only a few of the many divines of the period who wrote on the eucharist. Because they were popularized by the Tractarians in the last century, one may tend to associate the seventeenth century with them exclusively. This, however, would be a somewhat distorted view, since their eucharistic writings represent only a portion of those produced at that time. Awareness of this should prevent one from concluding that their sacramental thinking represents

the totality of Anglican eucharistic theology of that century.⁸

This, however, should *not* prevent one from recognizing the significance of these men in terms of the larger historical perspective. In their teachings, Anglican sacramental theology had entered a new phase. The nearly complete dominance of sixteenth-century Anglican eucharistic teaching by Reformed theology gave way to new developments in understanding Christ's presence in the sacrament in ways similar to those of Lutheran, Roman and Orthodox theology. Given the appropriation by these Anglican theologians of concepts and language belonging to existing sacramental theologies, as well as their direct utilization at times of these other traditions, it is not possible to understand seventeenth-century Anglican eucharistic doctrine, any more than that of the sixteenth century, as having developed in lofty isolation from ideas, the source of which was the continent. Rather, Caroline theology was the continuation of many of the debates, issues and ways of thinking about the sacrament which derived from the theological explosion of the previous century. It also incorporated some emphases from the ancient liturgical heritage of the Orthodox East.

As has been pointed out, this certainly did not mean an abrupt and consistent rejection of the Reformed 'true' presence tradition. On the contrary, the Caroline divines frequently developed their innovative ideas haltingly and only partially. Nonetheless, it meant that future generations could look back on the seventeenth century and find more variety and marked tendencies toward the tradition of 'real' presence than they could discover in the sixteenth-century Anglican heritage. In the second chapter, we raised the question as to whether the claim that the difference dividing the various churches

was only a question of *modus*, and not a question of the presence itself, was a subtle manoeuvre for opening the door to eucharistic doctrine going beyond the inherited Reformed teaching. While it may not be possible to distinguish cause and effect in this matter, it is possible to conclude that frequently among the Caroline divines this claim did indeed go hand in hand with such a movement.

"High Churchmen", "Low Churchmen", "Catholics" and "Protestants", however these terms are understood, have been able to locate ideas and concepts in the eucharistic theology of the Caroline divines which they have found agreeable with their own thinking. This means, then, that the seventeenth century is perhaps even more essential for understanding subsequent developments in Anglican sacramental theology than is the sixteenth century. Within it, were the seeds of later Anglican diversity of thought regarding Christ's presence in the sacrament and further departures from the Reformed tradition of an earlier era. In this sense, at least, Newman was correct⁹ - the seventeenth century *does* represent a second stage in the Anglican reformation of eucharistic theology.

FOOTNOTES

¹P. E. More, "Spirit of Anglicanism" in More and Cross, Anglicanism, p. xxxvii.

²More went too far when he claimed that they tended to refuse on principle to theorize about the sacrament, due to their "humility or awe before the divine mysteries of faith and a recognition of the incompetence of language to define the ultimate paradox of experience". Ibid., pp. xxxvi-vii.

³Paula Schaefer, The Catholic Regeneration of the Church of England, trans. E. T. Scheffauer (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd., 1935), p. 42.

⁴The Oxford Movement and the Seventeenth Century, p. 8; supra, p. 1.

⁵The Spirit of Anglicanism, p. 316. For his discussion of the appeal to antiquity, see, pp. 316-414. See also, Florence Higham, Catholic and Reformed. A Study of the Anglican Church 1559-1662 (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 49; and George H. Tavard, The Quest for Catholicity. A Study of Anglicanism (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), pp. 49 ff.

⁶The Spirit of Anglicanism, pp. V, 1, 30.

⁷See, e.g., Higham, Catholic and Reformed, pp. 51 ff.; Welsby, Lancelot Andrewes, p. 6; Macauley, Richard Mountague, pp. 34 ff. Macauley has written, "There were more and more signs throughout England that the predominant Calvinism was no longer to hold undisputed sway over the theology of the Church of England". (p. 34); G. R. Cragg has argued that "Early in the seventeenth century, the champions of Catholic order were beginning to challenge the entire Calvinistic system". From Puritanism to the Age of Reason (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), pp. 14 ff.; McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism, pp. 26 ff.

⁸Dugmore has rightly pointed out that the "High Church" divines were not the only ones in the seventeenth century. Eucharistic Doctrine in England, p. 56.

⁹Supra, p. 1.

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